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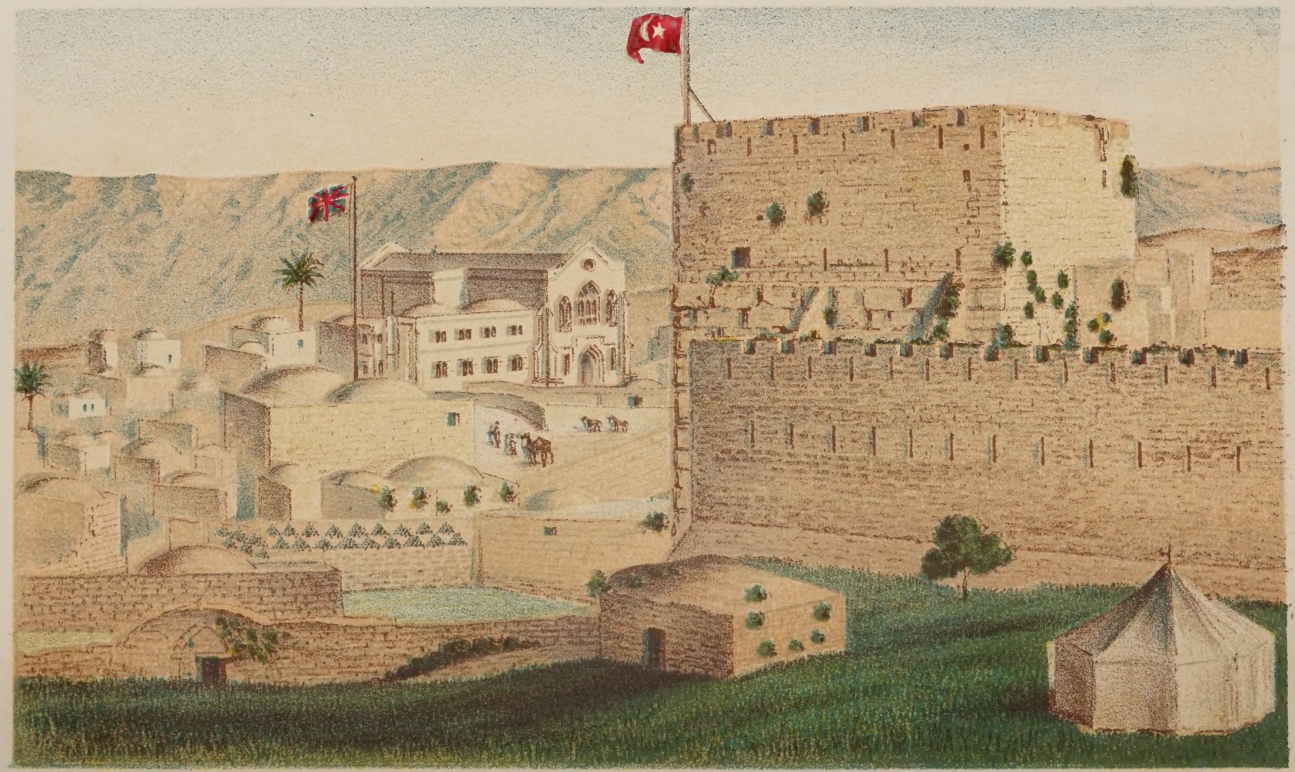

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STIRRING TIMES

OR

RECORDS FROM JERUSALEM CONSULAR CHRONICLES

OF 1853 TO 1856

BY THE LATE

JAMES FINN, M.R.A.S.

MEMBER OF THE SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE DE PARIS; HER MAJESTY'S CONSUL FOR JERUSALEM AND PALESTINE FROM 1845 TO 1863; PRESIDENT OF THE JERUSALEM LITERARY SOCIETY FROM 1849 TO 1863; AUTHOR OF 'BYEWAYS IN PALESTINE' 'SEPHARDIM' 'ORPHAN COLONY OF JEWS IN CHINA'

EDITED AND COMPILED BY HIS WIDOW

WITH A PREFACE BY THE VISCOUNTESS STRANGFORD

Dieux el veult. Deus vult. (Council of Clermont)

IN TWO VOLUMES

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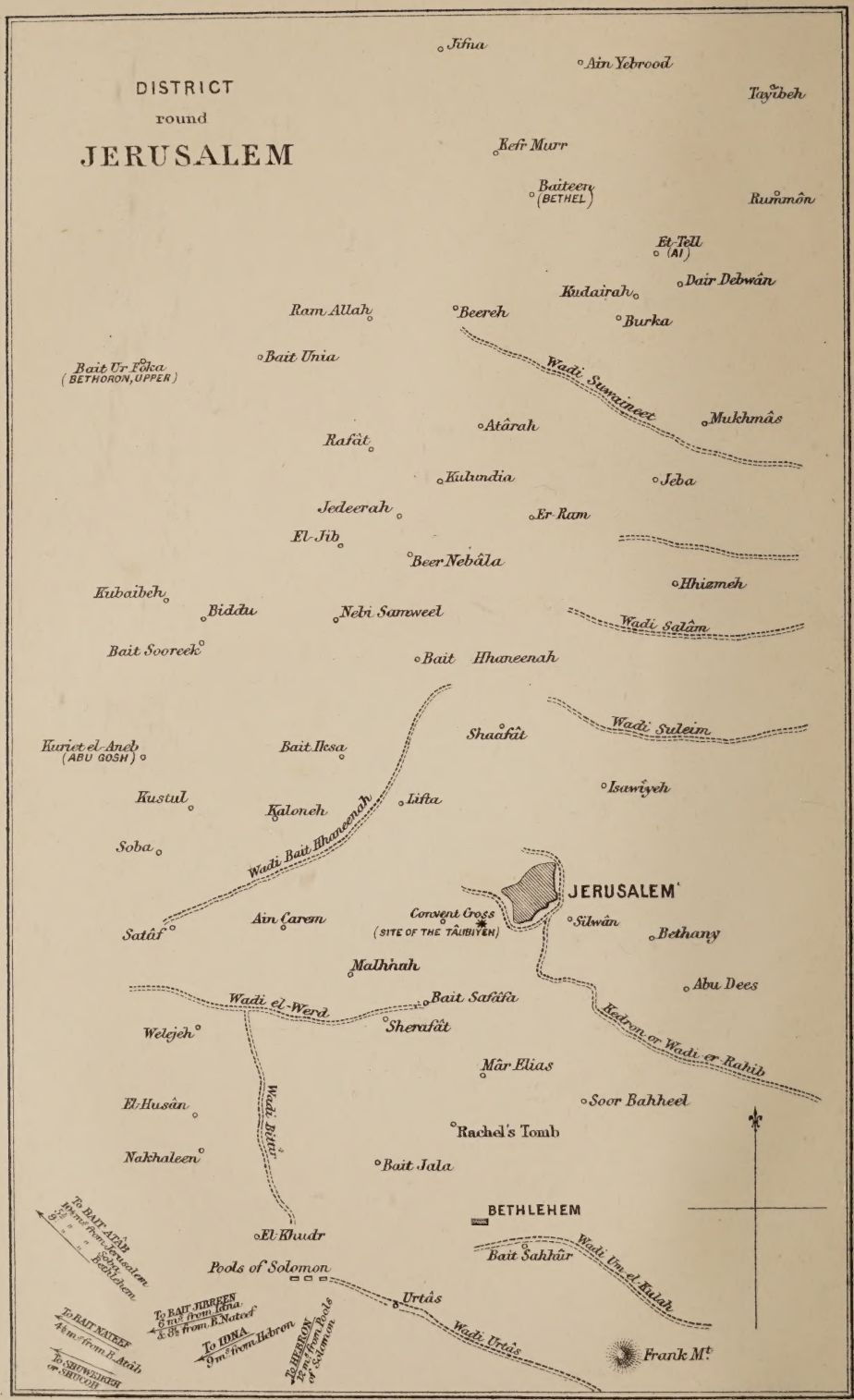

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We removed into our summer encampment on June 2nd. The weather was delightful, and there were no battle-shouts such as we so constantly heard last year from the villages. Reaping the wheat harvest had just begun in our neighbourhood, and the peasantry were everywhere busy with their thrashing. By the 10th the heat had risen considerably in consequence of a three days' East, or Sirocco, wind, which set in steadily, though so silently (as is common in one of its forms) that the air was quite still. At night, the moon being full, the sky threatened a storm, being, not blue as usual, but pale grey, with broken clouds in various lines. During the night—somewhere about midnight—a storm of rain and gusts of wind burst upon us. The tent seemed ready to blow up into the air. The children were carried out through the rain to the house, and the Moslem servants, who were cooking their

dinner (it being then Ramadân, when men fast by day and eat by night), came after the storm was over to fasten the tent. The other tents in the camp had borne the storm.

The change of weather was extraordinary. Such a storm had not occurred in eight years before in summer, and was considered extraordinary by all. The dry earth had become mud, except under the tents, and the smell brought out by the rain was very strong. The wind was strong all next day, but from North-West. The most extraordinary circumstance of a sirocco is the quiet stillness with which such a mass of fine desert sand as is borne in the air covers the sky, till it requires several days of storm from the sea to drive it back.

The next evening and night were very cold, and then followed cloudy dewy mornings, with gentle wind—delicious weather, to which we are accustomed in the month of June.

One day a negro of Demarara accosted me—speaking English, of course. He reported himself as a deserter from his ship, the 'East Anglian,' a trader then lying at Jaffa. The desire of seeing Jerusalem had overcome all fear of consequences from his conduct, and he had walked all the way up from the sea coast. He came to me hungry, and with feet much swollen. He described his past life as full of strange adventures. Among others he had lived five years in Germany, sometimes as farm servant, sometimes practising feats of leger-de-main and theatrical horsemanship. He had picked up a considerable knowledge of the German language, some Polish, and could read and write English well. He said he

knew the Bible well, and begged to be allowed to look about the city and ascend the Mount of Olives before being sent back in custody to his ship, for he knew that it was my duty to arrest him at once as a deserter.

I agreed to this petition; a kawwâs was told off to accompany him (as prisoner) to the places he desired to see, and during the time of necessary rest, then to conduct him back, with a letter from myself, to his captain. Soon after he left me a letter arrived from the ship reporting his desertion from duty. After he got back to Jaffa the captain let him off with but a slight penalty, in consideration of the man's good character and ability, as well as from respect for the motive which had led to his irregularity. There was also another reason for this indulgence, namely that no substitute could be found there to do his work.

Business requiring my presence in Caifa and Acre in July, I left our encampment near Jerusalem on the 14th, travelling towards Nabloos, which it was my intention to reach on the same day.

In the afternoon, as we approached Nabloos, and were upon the long plain of Mukhneh (*i.e.*, the plain of the 'encampment,' eastward of the town), we found the fields all around the village of Hawâra strewn with carcases of cows and oxen. There had been a foray recently made in that neighbourhood by the Beni Sakh'r (wild) Arabs from the East of Jordan, who had carried off a considerable booty of cattle; but what connection could there be between that and the scene before us? There was no connection, for we were not long in discovering that these were the victims of a murrain that

had been raging for some days past. And there stood the men of the village, gazing at the miserable spectacle in silence and with folded arms, for the carcases, which had lately formed so large a proportion of their property, lay there scattered about in no small numbers, untouched by vultures or the beasts of prey.[1]

In the same district on a former journey we had witnessed an equal spectacle of misery among the people on account of the prevalence of cholera.

We arrived very late at Nabloos—by dark night—(the journey is commonly divided between two days), and lost our way in the streets till some Tufenkchis (native police) came up with lanterns, and obsequiously led the way to 'Odeh Azâm's house, where speedily came, on ceremonial visits, 'Ali Bek Tokân, the recently installed Governor of the town, with Mustafa Aga Bairakdâr, Commander of Bashi-Bozuk, mentioned elsewhere, and Shaikh Naamân.

We discussed the recent disturbances of the place, and the latest revolution of the local government. (The opposite faction of the 'Abdul Hâdi had just been dispossessed in favour of their ancient rivals of the house of Tokân.[2]) It could not but be observed that the tone and temper of both town and authorities were bettered for us since the commencement of the Russian War.

It must be remembered that Nabloos is one of the most fanatic and turbulent places in Syria, as has been said before.

[1] 'The very vultures turn away
And sicken at so foul a prey.'—Lalla Rookh.

[2] See Nabloos factions, p. 239.

Next day away on the road early in the morning. At Jeba, while dismounted to have a stone picked from the horse's shoe, I observed some Bedaween walking and riding about—a most unusual circumstance so far in the heart of the country and away from their own deserts. One tall fellow, with handsome pistols and his face muffled almost over in Bedawi fashion during the heat of summer, dismounted from his mare and held out his hand to me.

I declined to take it, and said, 'I know not who thou art, nor what is thy tribe.' He answered gruffly, 'The Beni Sakh'r; this town is half full of us,' and strode away. I afterwards learned that he had lied, for the wild Arabs around Jeba were 'Adwân—the Beni Sakh'r were out over the Plain of Esdraelon.

By incidents such as these we learned, during the course of travel, the actual condition of the country and bearing of the wild men, who were overrunning the land far on this Western side of Jordan.

The day was exceedingly hot. On resting at the conspicuous clump of Karoobah trees before Kabâtieh, we could see smoke from extensive fires arising from the plains of Esdraelon, at some distance. This may not necessarily have been the work of Arab mischief among growing crops, but possibly they may have been fires for clearing the ground of huge thistles and other wild produce which grew so densely and rapidly there.

Beyond Kabâtieh we met about a dozen of young peasant women, walking furiously with swinging arms, all carrying small bundles, mostly upon the head. They

told our muleteer that they were escaping from an invasion of Arabs into the interior villages.

We halted at Jeneen for the night, and remained under the olive trees during the extreme heat of the next day, partly out of mercy to our beasts, and partly from having our own eyes scorched by the sun's reflection from the hot ground in travelling. The road during part of the last day had lain over white chalky ground, and is, perhaps, the hottest bit in the mountains of Palestine.

The sense of repose among the trees was delicious, with tall palms in front and a view of the green gardens (from which the ancient Hebrew name of En-gannim, and the modern Arabic name, are both derived), through which a copious stream was flowing with most soothing sound. Near us the villagers were thrashing and winnowing their corn harvest.

The linnets were trilling, the wild doves cooing, and the bee-eaters twittering as they flashed their brilliant colours in the sunlight. Shepherd boys also played on their simple reed-pipes, or chanted the simplest of ditties, as I sat on the canteen, fully enjoying the happy hours. But, by way of contrast, the scene would not be truly Oriental without the drawback of an offensive smell, occasionally, from some unburied animal, or the crawling of ugly lizards about the trees and the stones.

At Jeneen one feels to be on the verge of a novel district: it is a place of consequence in both a military sense and as bringing up historical recollections. It was always the pass from Samaria into Galilee, lying within sight of Carmel, Gilboa, Tabor, and the hilly range of

Nazareth, with the vast battle-field of Jezreel or Esdraelon for the foreground. The climate too is hotter than at Jerusalem.

There I had to meditate on the mutability of human affairs upon a small scale, for when last at Jeneen 'Abdu'l Hâdi, being Governor of Nabloos, rode and walked about with me, showing his gardens, his new house, his mills, and aqueduct; now, within the past week, his faction was overthrown; his rival Tokân had been reinstated at Nabloos, and he could not possibly approach the place without a force of hundreds of fighting men of the villages, aided by an alliance of desert Arabs, either with or without the knowledge of the Turkish Government, it mattered not which. This too is Oriental.

As evening drew on, groups of Shaikhs and members of the Jerâr family entered the village—the latter mounted on splendid mares and robed in brilliant colours, their attendants fully armed—some of whom were discharging their long guns, the heavy bullets whistling through the air, merely for amusement, or for gratification at being the victorious party. The Governor himself was absent at Sanoor, but I arranged with his deputy for an escort on the morrow, having to pass along the southern edge of the plain towards Carmel. He declared that the Beni Sakh'r, a few days before, had been 800 strong in the place where we were talking—'all mounted and carrying spears'—a Bedawy invasion in force.

After the evening scene of flocks and shepherds returning for the night, with the freshening breeze coming round the hill from the Mediterranean, we had the luxury

of a moonlight night, and slept with the tents half open.

Next day (July 16) our journey lay westward—by Seeleh, Ta'anuk, and Lejjoon—then under the length of Carmel, along the line of the Kishon, to Caifa. The intense heat of the plain became at length relieved by a refreshing view once more of the grand old sea, enlivened by a ship just coming in from Samos, at sunset.

Caifa was advancing in prosperity, and so much of it rebuilt, that it was said only about twenty houses were remaining as they were seven years before, and building-land was more in demand than ever for fresh houses.

Building-land (which as we were told may be bought at Tyre for twenty paràs, *i.e.*, one penny the square 'draa,' *i.e.* 'ell'), now in Caifa fetched 100 piastres, nearly 1*l.* sterling, for the same measurement, that is to say, two hundredfold, the piastre being 40 paràs. The Kâdi adduced several instances of that amount being given lately. This change was attributed to an increase of export trade in the port.[1]

The Kâdi ('Abdallah Effendi) also stated that a house had been offered him for sale about five or six years before for 400 piastres, which in 1854, at the time of my visit, was rented for an annual sum of 600 piastres.

[1] The Customs list showed a considerable diminution from the entries of five years before—but that was no sure indication in either direction, for most of the freights along the coast are taken in partly at one place and partly at another; thus many ladings were begun at Caifa and completed at Acre across the bay, and as the dues might be paid at either port, the register might be entered at either of them. The dues received at the Custom House of Caifa in 1853 and 1854 were 350,000 piastres each year, as compared with 600,000 in former years. They rose again after the war to 700,000.

But I believe there were other reasons in operation for the demand of building-land—such as an increase of Roman Catholic Missionary efforts in connection with the Convent on Mount Carmel—requiring new edifices, and at the same time an immigration of Latin families into the town.

A number of our Jews, British *protégés* belonging to Safed and Tiberias, called on me, being on the return from Jerusalem, whither they had been summoned to explain their circumstances to M. Albert Cohn, of Paris, and to receive their shares of the Rothschild benefactions. I showed them the lists of Jews employed on our Industrial Plantation, which surprised them much. They had not been told about it.

The Prussian Vice-Consul took me to see the hydraulic press just arrived, for his packing of cotton into bales; it had been brought from Manchester, and set up in a magazine by the sea beach. This gentleman, of Greek origin, was educated in a German University, and naturalised in Austria. We talked over the necessity for throwing out a jetty into the sea for the convenience of embarking or disembarking: not one such existed along the whole Syrian coast. (A jetty was made at Caifa five years later.)

The Austrian packet 'Italia' arrived about sunset on the way to Jaffa. She landed passengers and letters, but brought no particular news of the war or politics.

I crossed over to Acre on business. Rasheed Pashà, the Governor, was the first to visit me at the house of the Austrian Vice-Consul. From the tenor of his conversation, I gathered that he was calculating on Yakoob

Pashà not being much longer in Jerusalem, and on the possibility of his succeeding him there if fortified by English recommendations. He showed an extra amount of civility, and made his visit very long.

Before he left a man came in to deliver a message, in the course of which he said, that 'the Moslem had pleaded one thing in the Mahhkameh (Kâdi's Court of Justice), and the *Ghiaour* had pleaded the contrary.' I instantly caught the offensive epithet—'Ghiaour'—and protested against the use of it, as being expressly prohibited by the Sultan's Government, to be applied to Christians or any other, and as being opposed to the most recent reforms in Constantinople.

At this protest of mine the three Consular Agents who were present—English, Austrian, and American (not natives of those countries however)—were surprised. They had been all their lives so accustomed to the sound of the offensive word, as were their fathers before them, that they were not only afraid to join in the remonstrance, but said so; and argued that the signification was understood to be not quite the same as that of the Arabic word *Kafir*. So slowly is emancipation of the mind effected, when it does not arise from within.

However, by means of louder tone and iteration, the Pashà was convinced (indeed he had never argued about it), and on rising to leave, he summoned the offender, scolded and shook him before numerous witnesses, warning all bystanders against ever again applying the word *Ghiaour* to non-Moslems.

The European Consular Agents, above referred to, had most of them lived in the East all their lives—they

were excellent men—zealous in performing all the duties of their office towards the nations for whom they acted. But in order to secure to the inhabitants of the Turkish Empire the full benefit—nay, any benefit at all from the Laws of Toleration promulgated by the Sultan—it needed the vigilance of fearless and active men, whose energies had not been damped by the atmosphere of despotism, who could and who would on any opportunity stand forth and claim for all classes alike the rights and privileges accorded by the Government at Constantinople.

The Pashà needed reminding, as well as every one of those present at the above scene, that by the laws of the land it was expressly decreed that no offensive epithets should henceforth be used to people of any class or religion; and this very word *Ghiaour*, and its Arabic equivalent (as to usage) *Kafir*, had been the words particularly intended to be branded as illegal; because they were the words of contempt specially applied by the haughty Moslems to their Christian neighbours during the bygone ages of oppression and suffering.

On returning the visit, His Excellency the Pashà was found at the gardens of Jezzâr Pashà,[1] in the shade of an arcade, the flowers all about being watered by a *sakka* (native water-carrier). How delicious was the perfume which they gave out as their tribute of gratitude for the refreshment afforded them after the exhaustion of the long summer's day! The vast old hareem of Jezzâr Pashà had been used as a military hospital. The corner turret, called *Kasser-el-Dahab* (the Golden Tower) still remains, but sadly riddled by cannon-shot.

[1] Governor of Acre during the siege by Napoleon Buonaparte and the defence by Sir Sidney Smith.

I then visited the marble monument of the old Jezzâr of bloody memory, and the costly mosque which he erected, but which was then crumbling down from the effects of our bombardment; indeed the cupola was only supported by props of timber inside—matter sufficient for reflection to an Englishman in connection with the names of Sidney Smith and Stopford.[1]

In walking about the town afterwards we came to the monument of Major Oldfield, beneath a dark arch in a street at the door of the Greek church. A long inscription states that the enemy at the time of the siege (1799) buried him with military honours. An old man, a Christian, by my side, pronounced this to be a false account; for, said he, 'was not I present at this very spot when Sir S. Smith strode out the measure for the grave to place the Major in? Besides, how could the French have got in here to bury him?'

Now, if this old gentleman can be depended on, the apparent contradiction has to be solved by the possibility of the French having first buried the gallant officer outside the walls, with military honours (as we know otherwise that they did), and that our people afterwards, on the retreat of the enemy, removed him within the town, and so the heroic Commodore was able to measure out a grave for his friend.

One of our party had pointed out the spot, at the church door, as an evidence of the bigotry in the native Christians not allowing of interment within the church;

[1] Admiral Stopford commanded the British fleet at the bombardment of Acre in 1840. The cupola of the Mosque, mentioned above, fell in shortly afterwards.

but surely it would be contrary to Oriental feeling or the rules of Turkish government to have buried him inside a church.[1]

This subject reminds me of the tomb of Lieut. Lemesurier, in the hollow of Cœur de Lion's mound.[2]

The monument to this officer, who fell at the time of the bombardment of 1840, is kept in good repair by the British Consular agent Finzi, he being furnished with funds for the purpose by the family at home.

At the time of this visit of mine the plain, especially on the north side, opposite the great French breach, still abounded in spent cannon balls (one of these I brought away to the Museum at Jerusalem), but they have all been since gathered up by the military, and brought within the fortifications.

So late as 1859, and perhaps even now, there were stone balls of large dimensions to be met with about the

[1] *Extract from a Speech of Sir Sidney Smith at the London Tavern, on behalf of the 'Naval Institutions.' June* 2, 1802.

'The next was Major Oldfield of the Marines. He would tell the company where the dead body of the brave man was contended for, and they would judge where and how he died. It was in the sortie of the garrison of St. Jean d'Acre, when attacked by General Bonaparte, that Major Oldfield who commanded the sortie was missing. On our troops advancing, his body was found at the mouth of one of the enemy's mines, and at the foot of their works. Our brave men hooked him by the neckcloth as he lay dead, to draw him off; the enemy at the same time pierced him in the side with a halberd, and each party struggled for the body; the neckcloth gave way, and the enemy succeeded in dragging to their works this brave man, and here he must do them that justice which such gallant enemies are fully entitled to, they next day buried Major Oldfield with all the honours of war.'—'Memoirs of Sir Sidney Smith, K.C.B., &c.' London, 1839.

[2] It may be that this well-known mound, bearing still among the Arab natives the name of Cœur de Lion—is a remnant of the Roman bulwark or bank raised against Ptolemais (Acre) by Cestius Gallus. ('Life of Josephus,' p. 43.) Some of the Moslem inhabitants call it Tell el Fukhâr, 'the Pottery-mound.'

immediate vicinity. What was the era of these being used? Were they thrown by engines of the Crusaders, or earlier still, by those of the Romans? They had much the same appearance as those which I had seen at Lord Aberdeen's in Scotland, brought from the Dardanelles. My kawwâs surmised that they might have been moulds used for casting shells. If so, how did they ever come out?

It is pleasant to British feeling to find our familiar national names still celebrated at Acre with honour and respect. 'Le sort de l'Orient est dans cette bicoque,' said Buonaparte to Murat (see Miot), but the result of that desperate struggle is perpetuated in the armorial bearings granted by his king to Sidney Smith with the proud motto of 'Cœur de Lion.'

One small tower on the seaside (west) is still named by the natives 'The English tower.'

We returned to Caifa on the 19th, and under the shade of Carmel enjoyed the delicious climate and exquisite scenery, with the rustling of the Karoobah trees in the land breeze of evening. At night stars were most brilliant, and the house lights of Acre twinkled over the bay of dark calm sea.

We found that a Neapolitan had landed from the steamer of yesterday, looking out for horses for the cavalry in the Crimea. He would have been disappointed had he tried to obtain the famous mares of the desert. European money would have been at fault there.

On returning visits previous to our departure, I went to old Mr. Sekali (a native Christian), in his fine house all paved with marble at the seaside—adjoining to which he

had warehouses. He as well as the people of Acre yesterday complained of the Turkish officials, resisting all efforts made for progress or improvement, even though certain to gain profit by them—such as making a jetty at Caifa, or repairing the port wall at Acre, or leading out the waters of the Saeedah spring under Carmel, or cultivating the Jordan plain, &c.

Yet there was much to be said in approbation of the actual state of things contrasted with the horrible oppression of the Christians in the last generation—such as 'Abdallah Pashà compelling the Christian women to wear black Izârs instead of white (the Izâr is the large white veil or sheet which women wear as a mantle out of doors in the towns), and obliging the Jewesses to wear red; striking the men and using opprobrious epithets to them on all occasions (*ghiaour* would be too mild and gentle for his utterance), making them walk on the left side, or in the open gutters, and levying unauthorised exactions of money even without previous announcement. At one time this youthful tyrant made the members of his nominal Council go round to their families with a graduated scale of demands, and slapping the men on the face, to say, 'Thou enemy of God, render to God what is his due.'[1]

On one of these occasions a Christian turned to the collector the other cheek, and said that by his religion he was required to do so: whereupon the Moslem went away and the practice was discontinued. It was also 'Abdallah's custom, on meeting a Christian by accident in

[1] هات الحق لله يا عدو الله.

the street (of course recognisable by his prescribed costume), to raise his looks to the sky and exclaim, 'O God! wherefore hast thou created these Christians?' This wretch was addicted to evil practices of all kinds, and was, moreover, extremely ignorant of the world beyond his own district.

Mr. Sekali calculated that his own family must have paid *by violent exaction* at various times to 'Abdallah Pashà no less than 1,200 purses (near 6,000*l.*). On one occasion his father-in-law was imprisoned and beaten with 500 strokes (bastinado) a day for twenty days to make him pay a sum of 100,000 piastres (near 1,000*l.*—an enormous sum in those days)—while he was so poor as not to own a hundred paràs. The money could not be had—and the victim did not die of the infliction: he was only crippled for life.

The palace of this monster—called the Bahhjah—was at this time of my visit a wreck and a ruin, while he was living in poverty and misery at Constantinople. But far worse deeds than any above mentioned are remembered as having been perpetrated by 'Abdallah Pashà, whose name is pronounced with horror and detestation to this day.

The old gentleman (Mr. Sekali) added that when he first saw Caifa, nineteen years before, the best room in the best Christian house was so small that he could not stretch himself out fully to sleep in it—and this was in the vaunted Egyptian time—when Christians enjoyed comparative liberty. That house is still remaining. Looking round his large divân saloon and corridors of coloured marbles, I observed that he was now able to

stretch himself at full length. 'Yes,' said he, 'and gallop a horse within the court-yard. Our children complain of the hardship of Turkish government; but they do not know what such words mean; with ourselves, the old folks, the wonder is that we ever survived to such times as these.'

On leaving him we walked along the beach to see some of the large Egyptian cannon of the batteries lying displaced, and now either resting in the water or half covered with sand or dung heaps. One of them spiked, just under Mr. Sekali's window, has still a cannon ball in its mouth—either thrown into it from the English ships—as the people there believe, or rather it is its own ball that failed of being fully discharged. These were memorials of the war of 1840, which resulted in the Egyptians being dispossessed, and Syria restored to Turkish rule.

We visited 'Abdallah Bek, the Governor (Mudeer), of Caifa. He and his brother had a good deal to say upon useful topics—among which was that of the famous Chief Dâher, born in 1686, who, with his forty sons and their romantic and desperate career from 1750 to 1776, is so fully described in Volney ('État Politique de la Syrie'). Dâher was the great-grandfather of the present governor and his brother, and they affirmed that the family is still in possession of the Sultan's firmân for cutting off his head, which Dâher intercepted during the hostile operations between himself and his sons. Dâher had been ineffectually bombarded in Safed in 1742, and he seized Acre in 1749.

Among the many remarkable events, ancient and modern, which have taken place in relation to Acre and the adjacent bay, there has been one curious to think of in connection with our Russian wars. Dâher received aid by sea from Russia in 1772, during his revolt against the Turks. Now, however, no Russian ships would be met with upon the Syrian coast, subsidised by any rebel against the Sultan.

During the evening's chat the Kâdi, who was present, pronounced that the Protestant, or, as the Moslems generally say, the 'English' religion and Islâm were very nearly all one—for he had seen a book at Acre while waiting an hour in Jemmâl's house (the American Consular Agent), a native Christian merchant, which distinctly vouched that there is but one God—that the Pope is not God's deputy on earth—that it is no duty to confess sins to a priest but to God only—and that images and pictures in churches are unlawful. 'Now,' said he, 'this is Islâm—this is the true religion.' It was curious to hear a Kâdi (Judge in Korân Law) say so; he also contended that it is a mere matter of custom, not of religion, when Moslems do not salute Christians with the formula, 'Salaam 'alaikoom' (Peace be unto you!).

In this he was at one with the Kâdi at Nabloos—the specially fanatical city of Palestine. It may not be generally known that the Moslems commonly believe that the English are not to blame for not having embraced their faith entirely, for it was only owing to their great distance from Arabia that their answer did not arrive in time before his death, when the Prophet had sent them his invitation by letter to embrace Islâm.

On the 20th we were about to leave, and just before mounting for Nazareth, the *Mudeer* ('governor') of Teereh, a notoriously thievish village under Carmel on the west, came up, bringing with him the property of some Jewish pedlars who had been robbed and wounded near his village some weeks before. He declared that without so much as a single horseman from the Government he had mounted 200 of his neighbours and kinsmen to punish the offenders—and he promised to do more yet to avenge the crime of shedding the blood of Jewish people under the English protection. Of course this was exaggeration, with an object in view; yet it is true that he had recovered a certain proportion of the missing goods. As for the rest it would have been out of place to say 'Credat Judæus.' I left him to the care of the local Vice-Consul.

However much or little reliance can be placed upon the veracity of these petty officials of the Turkish Government, it is certainly useful that they should be visited occasionally by the Superior of our own local agents about them. It concerns them much to be favourably or unfavourably mentioned to their superiors in Bayroot and elsewhere; and they will try by something like justice to our scattered *protégés* to merit an occasional good word from the British officials—and it much strengthens the minds of our own agents to receive occasional visits and personal supervision from those above them in office.

We now moved on homewards. Traversing the green woods (for in this part of Galilee there are, indeed, green woods of forest trees), and in the vicinity of Sephoris and Jotapata, we felt ourselves in perpetual remi-

niscence of our heroic Josephus, whose narrations are not the less truthful or important in history for the fact that his writings exceed in quantity those of any other author in ancient times.

To me he is a magnificent character—a warrior and a writer on a larger scale than he of the old Arabs (Motanebbi), whose boast lay in his sword, his hospitality, and his pen.

At Nazareth our tents were pitched near the fountain —the only fountain there.

Then we went to visit the Missionary Klein, who had a good deal to tell about the late ravages of the Beni Sakh'r. They did not enter Nazareth, as it is not the custom of Bedawy Arabs to get themselves entangled among hills or trees; but the terrified Nazarenes had kept up incessant firing of guns and pistols from their house-tops all the night of the 1st to the 2nd instant.

The Arabs limited their plundering to the Plain, among the flocks and herds belonging to Nazareth Fooleh Dabooreh, &c. Numerous families were ruined by the losses sustained.

The Kâdi lost 500 sheep and goats, besides a fine mare. It was estimated that the town of Nazareth lost cattle property feeding on the Plain to the amount of 200,000 piastres (near 2,000*l.*). Close to the village of Dabooreh, at the foot of Mount Tabor, a Bedawy demanded his gun from a man (brother of the Shaikh of Raineh), but the latter, instead, fired upon him his charge of small shot. The Arabs retaliated by spearing the man and cutting him up into morsels.

A new governor for Nazareth arrived at the same

time with myself. All was quiet during our few hours' stay.

Returning to our tents near the fountain, we found that the water at this spring was very deficient in this summer season, yielding only a petty trickling to the anxious inhabitants. All night long the women were there with their jars, chattering, laughing, or scolding in competition for their turns.

Their costume is different from that of Jerusalem and also from that of the district around Jerusalem—having gayer colours and being more profuse in silver ornaments. In person they are more healthy and sprightly than the Jerusalem peasantry—much less worn down with labour and care. Their jars of water are carried a little slanted upon a pad on the head, while the tottering old women carry smaller jars under the arm. It suggested a strange current of ideas to overhear pert damsels using the name of Miriam (Mary), in jest and laughter at the fountain of Nazareth. These Nazarene women enjoy such robust health, that they not only perform the task universally allotted in the East to women, of water drawing and carrying, but they are to be seen marching in companies with stout axes, to do the other Gibeonite work of hewing timber in the green woods around or upon Tabor.

The frequency of wedding festivities in the town of Nazareth has often been noticed.

Our business at Nazareth finished, we left on the 21st, and crossed the plain in view successively of Tabor, Shunem, Jezreel, and Gilboa, an illustrious cluster on the left, with Carmel and the site of Elijah's sacrifice to the

right. Resting awhile at Jeneen, I had some gossip with an old peasant, and read to him a verse out of the Book of Psalms, which pleased him greatly; but recollecting probably some old prejudices to the disadvantage of Christianity, he said—looking half dubiously as to how I might receive the doctrine—'But God is one.' 'God is one,' I repeated after him. He then sat down and expatiated on the distress everywhere entailed on the country by the Russian war, begging to know when peace would be made. 'Look at my poverty,' said he, showing his thin and ragged clothing; 'this comes from the Osmanli Government taking all our money from us to carry on *their* war, not *ours*, while doing nothing to defend us from the Bedaween savages!'

Among other things, he told me that he had been, when six years old, at the battle of Fooleh, where the French, under Buonaparte, routed the *Jerdeh Jebel Nabloos* (levies of the Nabloos mountain district). This is what the French denominate the battle of Mount Tabor. The people of that region retain both memory and tradition of that day's event, and in referring to it pronounce the names of Kleber and Buonaparte with amusing variations. They tell how their people pitched the Frenchmen bodily into the tanks at Fooleh and Afooleh, as they stooped on the ground to assuage their thirst; and they tell of bullets and French military buttons being long afterwards found in those reservoirs.

We were again upon the road. Near Jeba the kettledrums of Bashi-Bozuk were heard, and we saw the troops 'on their winding way' among the olive trees. As they were not upon our road, a messenger was dis-

patched to enquire what was the business on hand. The reply was, that 'Ali Bek Tokân, the present Governor of Nabloos, was there himself, accompanying Ismaeen Aga (commander of the troops) going the rounds of the country 'to set all to rights.'—Sending salutations.

We reached Nabloos the same evening, 21st, being one day from Nazareth, and left again very early in the morning in order to escape from the plague of ceremonial visits.

In traversing the Plain of Muknah this time, we found that every peasant saluted us with the '*Salâm 'aleikum*,' usually reserved for Moslems; and this not only to my kawwâsses (who were Moslems of course), but also to the Europeans of the party. Such a change in that peculiar and turbulent district too could only be attributed to our being now known to be in alliance with the Porte against Russia, and, perhaps to the report given them, of the comparative harmlessness of the Protestant, or as the Moslems called it, the English religion by their people who had lately been in Jerusalem, and had there visited our church.

We reached Jerusalem that afternoon, being the second after leaving Nazareth, after an absence of just nine days, and found my family all well in camp, the English and European community too safe and well, excepting that the Bishop's little daughter was ill at their encampment. Thus we were preserved in peace and quietness while other districts were disturbed, and while war raged afar off.

CHAPTER XIX.

REIGN OF JAKOOB PASHÀ AND HIS DEATH.

Country quiet—Moslem children singing under our windows before their Festival—The Jerusalem garrison—Reviews by the Pashà—Turkish soldiers in Christchurch—Discharge of cannon into Consulate and Church—Punishment of the Gunner—Disturbances in Hebron—'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer again—Moslems of Hebron appeal to the Consulate—Troubles in Bethlehem—Jews at Rachel's Sepulchre not molested—Safety of British residents—Moslems of Hebron petition the Consul—News of the progress of the War—Raising of troops—News from Persia and Bokhâra—Russian descent upon Palestine by the Euphrates and North-East feared—News of the invasion of the Crimea by allied armies—The fears of the Christians at an end—Return from summer encampment into Jerusalem—Death of Yakoob Pashà, and sale of his plate and jewels.

Not only had the country been quiet so far, but the progress of the war had this year caused no fanatical excitement within the city.

On the evening before the Corban Bairam Festival (the greatest in the Mohammedan Calendar) there came under my office windows schools of Moslem boys singing prayers for the Sultan—this being the time of breaking up school for the Great Feast of the year. A native Christian told me that this is exactly like the practice of Christian schoolboys throughout the country previous to the feast of St. Lazarus, when they go about singing chaunts in commemoration of his resurrection.

A trifling present was of course customary, and was given.

The Pashà encouraged the display of the military force in Jerusalem, by means of public reviews on the open 'place' or *Maidân*, on the north-west, outside the Jaffa gate, now chiefly occupied by the Russian buildings. His Excellency and his suite were sometimes present in tents, and these little reviews were really a fine sight as seen from our encampment on a fine summer's evening.

One morning during the Hebrew Prayers in our church, just as we got to the 'Collect for times of war and tumult,' the brass field-pieces were being rolled over the pavement from the Castle, and the usual exercise of the battalion had been going on for some time on the Maidân, whence the word of command and the firing were distinctly audible within and without the city walls.

As before said, those troops from Aleppo gave us little trouble; but an incident occurred in which a soldier, native of the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, seriously misbehaved himself.

Ramadan this year had lasted from May 26th till June 27th, when it was, as usual, closed by a three days' feast, called Bairam, or by some Little Bairam. All this had passed off quietly, although it might have been expected that religious fanaticism would have shown itself in some excesses on the part of the fasting Moslems, now that war against the Infidels was actually going on.

The beginning and end of each day's Ramadan fast was always announced by gun-fire from the Castle cannon. The feasts were ushered in by a salute of seven guns at three o'clock on the previous afternoon, when the 'Preparation' properly began. Each of the daily five hours

of Prayer during the continuance of the Festival was marked by a similar salute of seven guns.

The greatest Festival of all, Corban Bairam (the Feast of the Sacrifice, held by the Mecca pilgrims at Mount Arafât) occurred on the 3rd and following days of September. At that time the English Consulate was occupying the house adjoining the church, and was therefore, like the west front of the church itself, facing the Castle. On the 3rd, which was Sunday, just before our English ten o'clock service, when we were in the organ gallery in the west end of the church, prepared for the commencement of service, a company of Turkish soldiers walked quietly two by two into the church and took seats for a time, then left. So large a party had never before this come into the church, though it was common for one or two to do so (as did Orientals of all classes and religions) during Divine Service. They were perfectly orderly and well-behaved, indeed reverential in their manner.

The sermon was just ended before the great guns opposite thundered forth their noonday salute, and it was a little trying to go on playing the usual voluntary on the organ with the startling discharge of one gun after another close at the organist's back. Then followed silence and the Holy Communion Service in the church, and our congregation dispersed as usual, some to their homes, the rest to their tents.

Being out of town in our summer encampment, we only heard and saw the firing on the remaining days of the festival from thence. On one of these days a most unexpected discovery was made.

The guns used for firing the salutes are some of them pointed, *i.e.* laid so as to point outwards of the city, and some inwards, in our direction.

One of these guns pointing inwards was found to have discharged its wadding into the windows of the Consulate, the distance being very short. The wadding was found to be an extra charge, consisting of a tightly compressed soldier's jacket with its brass buttons. The bundle had crashed through one of the windows, carrying glass and woodwork before it, and hit the wall opposite just above the bed in which a child would have probably been sleeping had we been in town.

The gunners were in the habit of ramming anything that came to hand into their cannon, to make the greater noise in the discharge. Some years before a poor Jewess of our acquaintance was passing down the narrow lane close to our house at the moment when the salute began. One of the guns of the lower battery commanded this lane point blank. A troop of donkeys just released from their loads came scampering down the lane behind her, the donkey boy lagging somewhat in the rear. The donkeys pushed past, one of them pinning the Jewess to the wall. At that instant the cannon was fired ; the wadding (an old soldier's jacket in this instance too) struck the donkey on the forehead, killing him on the spot. The poor Jewess was covered with dust and some of the blood of the slain beast, which had to be removed before she could be extricated, terribly shaken and frightened, but safe. The donkey had saved her life at the expense of its own. Our energetic surgeon, the late Mr. R. Sandford, came to her relief, and on examining the donkey

found that one of the brass buttons of the soldier's jacket had entered its skull, causing instant death.

In the present case, however, a lump of somewhat similar wadding was found smouldering and with smoke in the organ gallery of our church. This had broken through the West window. The missile must have come from another gun, and it contained a large rusty iron nail. Both the guns must have been charged and lowered on purpose; this was abundantly proved at the examination which was made. Until now these same guns had always discharged their hitherto harmless contents high above the Church and Consulate.

The mischief of the affair was aggravated by what afterwards appeared in evidence taken before the authorities, that the Chaoosh directing the gunners had been heard to give command for ramming in tight that particular wadding. Humanly speaking, any person who might have been seated at the organ must have been killed by the charge which entered the church, as, indeed, our child must have been killed if the other aimed at the Consulate had struck it.

Injury to life seemed, however, not to have been intended, for it was well known that at the hour when that salute was fired no person was in either the Church or the house to be hurt. Injury to property and an affront to the English seem rather to have been the object.

It would have been convenient for the enemies of Turkey and of Great Britain could a breach have been effected in the friendly relations between the Turkish and English people, and there were not wanting ignorant and fana-

tical people willing to do rash deeds, both here and elsewhere in Turkey, at the instigation of unscrupulous and treacherous advisers.

The Turkish authorities in Jerusalem had evidently had no hand in the matter, but they were informed that should the time arrive for another salute to be fired from the Castle Battery before justice had been done and the offender in this case punished, the British flag would be at once hoisted over the Consulate.

Hitherto no flag had been allowed in Jerusalem but that of the Sultan over the Citadel. Consuls of all foreign nations had, as a matter of course, their flags raised over their respective Consulates at the sea-ports. But the Government had not allowed flags in Jerusalem, the sacred fortress city. When the French had attempted to hoist their flag in 1843, there had been a public riot of the Moslems, who tore it down and dragged it in the dust. The foreign Governments had not required the hoisting of their flags to be allowed in Jerusalem, seeing that it was not a maritime city. Outside, however, at the encampments, small flags were used by the Consuls and by travellers over their tents.

This affair of the firing into the Church and Consulate being a military case, could not be decided in Jerusalem. The offender (the Chaoosh in command of the firing party) was at once arrested. The Commandant came and inspected the ground and the damage done. Full inquiry was made, and then the case was forwarded to the Seriasker (Commander-in-chief) at Damascus. Sentence arrived after a delay of several months. The offending Chaoosh was bastinadoed in the open square between

the Castle and the Consulate. The whole battalion was then harangued within their barracks by the Commandant, in presence of my officials from the Consulate, and severe punishment was denounced against any such conduct in future. What the man's motive could have been was never ascertained, but for nine years afterwards while I remained in Jerusalem he was always a civil quiet sort of person outwardly. He was a native of the neighbourhood, and not one of the Aleppo soldiery.

There never was any attempt of the kind made afterwards. It might have been otherwise if any timidity had been shown, but the case was promptly taken up, and redress obtained, and there it ended.

Early in this year some of the latter class had insulted an English Colonel and his lady in the street. The Commandant gave prompt redress, for it was within his competency to do so. One of the offenders was sentenced to fifteen days' imprisonment, and two others to a week each. Then the garrison was drawn out in a line within the barrack, and lectured on the duty of being civil to European strangers, the Commandant adding *impromptu* that the epithet 'ghiaour' (infidel) was never to be applied to any but Russians! Next day our English Colonel consented to some mitigation of the sentence at the instance of the Commandant, in consideration of his having himself struck the soldier with his cane in public at the time of the affront.

Later in the summer application was made to me one Sunday, after church, on behalf of one of our *protégés*, a Jew, who had been beaten by a soldier, and redress was given at once. These were the only cases of misconduct

on the part of the present garrison, and they were redressed at once by the Commandant.

All was quiet around Jerusalem, but further West and South disturbances were again rife.

Soon after our new Pashà's arrival there had come to pay me a visit Mustafa Aga Bairakdâr, principal Commander of the Bashi-Bozuk, a good soldier, one who kept his troops in order and discipline, and who had been for many years well known at the Consulate. He told us of his recent journey in the South from Hebron to Gaza, and described the state of parties in that direction; but all his representations were made in the rose-coloured light of Seraglio understanding, and his statements were such as it was thought proper that Consuls should hear and believe. We knew, as already stated, that 'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer, of Hebron, had been received by the Pashà, and gone away happy, and that Mohammed 'Abd el Neby, of the opposite faction, had been thrown into prison. And we were to believe that henceforth all would go on peaceably and quietly!

But I was soon under the necessity of addressing to this same officer, the Bairakdâr, a letter on behalf of the Jews in Hebron (his own station), who had cause of complaint as to oppression exercised against them by the townspeople, and other complaints soon followed.

It was on a Sunday afternoon in the heat of July that we were seated quietly at our tents with my family, and engaged in duties befitting the day. The glare of sunshine suffused the whole wide landscape, our doves were cooing softly on the shady side of the house, when our friend, the Rev. W. J. Beamont, was seen running along

the Valley of Rephaim, which afforded a shorter cut towards us from the Bethlehem road than the common path. He came up the hill, breathless, fatigued, and travel-stained, from Urtâs, whither his custom was to go on foot (a distance there and back of 14 miles) every second Sunday, to hold Divine service at the farm there for the Meshullam family and catechise the children.

He had hurried back in order to deliver to me a long and most urgent petition in Arabic, which had been brought so far as Urtâs by three horsemen from Hebron, who described the state of that region as pitiful in the extreme, under the tyrannous rule of 'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer, who was now giving full scope to the villainous impulses of his nature, under the prestige of his recent favourable reception and confirmation in office by the Pashà. So much for the late pacifications and for the soothing accounts given by the Bairakdâr, and yet Hebron was the post of duty of the latter officer, and he ought to have known what was going on. However, a storm was brewing, whether he knew it or not.

The bearers of the petition to me most earnestly besought our prompt intervention on behalf of the suffering Hebronites—Moslems all. I immediately forwarded the petition, with a message from myself, to the Pashà, but felt hopeless as to any benefit being produced by it, for in such matters a local tyrant in Eastern countries can always, by means of threats, get up a counter petition, numerously sealed, and then punish the sufferers who had dared to make their calamities known.

Two days later several of the petitioners came, and gave me oral narrations of the evils of their condition.

Some of them had been summoned to Jerusalem by His Excellency the Pashà to explain matters to himself. Although alarmed at this invitation, they dared not disobey, but came, accompanied by their friends, entertaining some undefined hope that the being known to have visited the British Consul by the way might prove some safeguard to them. In the event of their being sent to prison for their act of desperation in preferring the petition, they would be able to inform the authorities that I had seen them and had heard their history orally.

I desired them to go to the Seraglio without delay, and in case of further troubles arising, to persuade their fellow complainants in Hebron to prepare an *Ard hhâl mukhdâr* or general petition from the town to Constantinople.

One of these poor men was the eldest son of the former governor of Hebron—named Jawwâd—whom Abderrahhmân el Amer had himself murdered in the open street of Hebron in 1840. He was now earning his livelihood as a dyer, and held up his blue stained arms towards heaven, supplicating retribution upon the whole Amer family. The Bethlehem neighbourhood was also disturbed.

A little more than a month afterwards I was in Bethlehem, and in the open square before the convents I saw Shaikh Sabbahh Shokeh (one of the two Moslem Shaikhs of Bethlehem) with a crowd gathered round him —his spear was by his side, resting against the wall. Proceeding into the great old church (the most ancient church in the world, and roofed with English oak; only

the apse is now used for divine worship), I found a large assembly of Christian village elders seated on the pavement. They all rose up and rushed towards me with cries and lamentations that the Mohammedans were about to kill them.

As I knew somewhat of Bethlehem matters from eight years' residence near them and had seen the Moslem chief Sabbahh Shokeh outside, and he had seen me, and as he and I were on good terms, I did not believe their peril of life to be very imminent, and accordingly advised them to seek the aid of the two Latin Consuls, viz., the French, their avowed protector, and the Austrian, who was then residing in their town. The latter was, however, absent that day in Jerusalem.

Crossing over the hills on the same day to the Urtâs farm, there met our view a distressing spectacle of vineyards utterly leafless. A section of the Ta'amra Arabs had purposely turned their flocks of camels and horses in among the plantations, and thus both fruit and foliage for that year were all gone in a few hours. In front of us, amid the desolation caused by him, stood with his mare and his spear the gigantic form of Saf-ez-Zeer, the terror of the country and disgrace of his tribe, apparently rejoicing in the scene.

It appears, as I afterwards learned, that he had done this in revenge for the Bethlehemites having refused to pay blackmail individually to himself, besides the gifts annually made to the tribe generally, from whom he was detached, an outlaw and a marauder, with three or four adherents as bad as himself. This destruction was what the people in the church had referred to by saying that

the Moslems were about to kill them—the phrase was literally 'make to die.'

On the road I overtook the Commissioner from Constantinople, Assaad Effendi, who was on his way to the Pools of Solomon, for an inspection of their condition, and I did not fail to explain these matters to him. A few days later, upon the high road near Bethlehem, I met a large company of Christians proceeding to Jerusalem, to represent their troubles to the Pashà at the Seraglio. They implored my assistance, but it seemed best to leave the direct interference in Bethlehem matters to the Latin Consuls, their professed defenders. Had these poor people no other advocate, the case might have been different.[1]

Further on, beyond the convent of Mount Elias, I overtook a very poor and fanatic-looking Jew (Ashkenaz), with prayer-books under his arm, proceeding to Rachel's Tomb to offer up his devotion. Just before him, and also walking, was the junior secretary of the Latin Patriarch, with clerical dress and a very broad hat; he was of course an European. The contrast between the

[1] *Extract from a letter dated Bethlehem, August* 24, 1854.

The Bethlehem Protestants do not appear to have any complaints against the Moslems during the past month. The Greek and Armenian Bethlehemites are not exempted from the insults committed by the Moslems of Bethlehem. They possess alike property in land, olives, and vines, and suffer the same despoliation with the native Roman Catholics. The occurrences that have taken place last month are as follows:—Ibrahim el Ama has had his vineyard plundered and himself severely wounded by Ahhmed, son of Salem Shakhtoor (the Moslem Shaikh in Bethlehem whose conduct was notoriously bad, and had been so for many years). Suleimân Daood's vineyard cut down, and several others, who have gone to Jerusalem to complain. Giries Salman (has lost) about one acre and a half of olive trees cut down and burned..... Salem Shakhtoor is the most active persecutor of the Bethlehemites, and (has) allowed his men the most unbounded license of spoiling their (the Christians') property.

proud step of the one, and the humble downcast look of the other, was most remarkable. At Rachel's sepulchre I found a large assemblage of Ashkenazim, it being the last day of the month, on which day the Jews are in the habit of going thither for prayer. The Jews were thankful to be able to visit this spot as well as other graves—such as that of Simon the Just—north of Jerusalem, on stated occasions, for religious observances.

Though the peasantry were in a restless condition, the Jews were in no way molested. On the contrary, they were left in safety and undisturbed, as the following incident will help to show. It happened about this time on a similar occasion, some men of the village of Cufeen, on the Hebron road—a very rough and thievish set—came by on the road and saw the Jews at Rachel's sepulchre at their prayers; they began to curse and were preparing to plunder and strip them. Some of the Bethlehem Moslems, who were in the habit of bringing the Jews water to drink on these occasions in return for backsheesh, were at the moment engaged in burying one of their dead near the spot; they at once called out to the would-be robbers of the Jews, 'Leave them alone; they are under English protection!' The thieves desisted, and went on their way.

The Jews sent me word by night from Hebron by a messenger that they were in great fear on account of Abderrahhmân el 'Amer. I however posted a kawwâs among them to watch proceedings, and all went on quietly.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

We too enjoyed perfect quiet in our several encampments, enjoying the fresh air and going about at night in the beautiful

moonlight after the toil and heat of the day. The city gates were shut for the night, according to custom, and we were in freedom and rest out on the open hills, coming and going as we chose.

Sometimes we went for a late evening ride westwards in the secluded valleys around the Convent of the Cross, with no sound stirring save the sound of our own voices; sometimes down the valley of Gihon to the terrace opposite Siloam village, where Mr. Seddon was living while at work upon his painting, for a little pleasant chat to enliven his solitude; sometimes to the little tower on the N.E. shoulder of Olivet, where James Graham gathered his friends around him, to see what at that time but few had ever seen—the grand aspect which Jerusalem presents at night as seen on its mountains from Olivet, and surrounded by deep black valleys, and this whether in the dim starlight or by the full glory of a summer moon. On certain days in the month our evenings were spent in Jerusalem, attending the meetings for relief of Jewish distress—then the City gate was kept open for us, and some time before midnight we returned by lantern light along the lonely ways to our tents, where all was safe and in peace, not because there were guards posted to prevent disturbance or robbery, for there were none, but because in those days the peasantry of the whole country side were glad that English people should live among them; and because the evil-disposed had learned that no single case of petty plunder or of insolence had ever been allowed to pass unpunished.

Had it been otherwise, no attempt at posting guards around our wide-spread encampments would have been of any use, neither would any defence which we could have offered against violence, thus exposed on the mountain side, with the City gates locked till sunrise, and all Jerusalem in the silence of sleep. If this was so within a mile or so of Jerusalem, where the European tents were pitched, it was doubly true that the family living at the Urtâs Farm, seven miles off, deep in the valleys south of Bethlehem, could only have remained there with any possibility of safety, because the surrounding population knew that they reaped advantages from having these

English settlers amongst them, and that there was vigilant watchfulness and a firm hand ready to deal at once with any annoyance which might be offered to British subjects.

The Turkish Government might be weak, but the British Government was believed to be strong, and hitherto experience had taught the natives that to be on friendly terms with Englishmen brought them good of various kinds, while to provoke them by wrong of petty kinds had so invariably brought punishment, that any serious offences were not to be thought of.

Thus it was that year after year the British name came to be respected and feared more and more; and that by simple means, quiet industry and perseverance, without bluster, influence was attained, powerful enough for the protection of Jews in all parts of Palestine, of travellers even to Petra, or beyond Jordan, of residents within the city in times of fanatic excitement, or out on the hills while the tribes and clans were abroad fighting each other; and this by mere moral influence, and under circumstances where not all the renown of Sir Sidney Smith's deeds at Acre, or of the victories over Napoleon Buonaparte, and over the Egyptians, however they might be remembered, and they are still remembered, could have been of the slightest use to us, and where material means for protection by Turkish or any other authority were wholly wanting.

Besides all this it was found possible to exert a beneficial influence in favour of oppressed people of whatever creed or nation, to investigate cases of wrong, to speak the word that should prevail, and check the evil-doer.

It stirs the heart to remember what could be done, what was actually done in those days for the prevention of human suffering, for the succour of the distressed—done so quietly that few were aware that anything had been done at all.

And the same quiet work was going on elsewhere wherever British officers were unostentatiously spending all their best energies without stint or regard to personal advantage, in upholding and furthering the honour of their country by simply *doing their duty*.

At the close of a long petition to Mr. Consul Finn from the Moslem inhabitants of Hebron, received August, 1854, addressed—'To him to whom all the persecuted do run, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul in Jerusalem. May God save him, &c. (and other compliments)'—occur the following passages:—

Now we have given you a short account of some of the crimes of the tyrant ('Abderrahhmân) and his sons and allies, but many other bad acts which we have not here mentioned would take books and registers to record them. And now we come to your threshold, falling before you and asking aid that you would favour us by causing the tyrants to be far from us and from governing us, as you have already done good to our Elders and Shaikhs by delivering them from unjust imprisonment. Your fame is so great, that if anyone is suffering and unjustly persecuted, you can render him all assistance as if it were for your own personal self. Therefore we pray and hope of your zeal, as it is your custom, that you will help us in procuring justice against the tyrant for the bloodshed and wounding which he has committed on our people, and also for the various plunderings made in our city. And let this justice be really carried out when the complainants come forward to prove the charges against him, then will the truth of His Majesty's subjects appear, and our sufferings and persecutions that have arisen from this tyrant, and you will be greatly astonished.

And now all the inhabitants of the city of the Friend[1] of the Most Merciful, the poorest of God's creatures in worldly estate, offer you their numerous prayers, especially the poor and the weak in the Hharam Esh-Shereef,[2] at the threshold of the Friend of the Most Merciful One. And we ask God Almighty to give victory to our lord the Sultan, and the Moslem Government

[1] 'The Friend of the Most Merciful.' In Arabic Khaleel er-Rahhmân is the designation of Abraham, 'the Friend of God.'

[2] Hharam Esh-Shereef, *i.e.* the Noble Sanctuary at Hebron—the Cave of Machpelah.

with the English Government over the rebellious and doomed Russian, and may God give you a long life and keep your present state, and may He give us peace through your hands, and save you from all evil! Amen!

Signed by 107 names, of these 55 have seals.

So far the village wars among the peasant clans had been smothered. But the Pashà was very old. His death or removal was clearly near at hand. By September the factions were pretty well arrayed and ready for fight. There were on one side—

1. The Hebron Chief, before described, 'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer and two of his brothers, Mahhmood and Ibrahim (his five other brothers were on the opposite side).

2. Muslehh el Azizi, of Bait Jibrîn, with his brothers 'Abdu'l Azîz and Ismaîn. These may be briefly described as representing the Philistine country, south-west of Jerusalem. Their Bedawy allies from the desert were—Odeh Atiyeh, of the powerful tribe of the Tiyâhah Arabs, and his cousin Moosa abu Shunâr.

On the opposite side were—

1. Mohammed Abd en Neby and his cousin Nimmer, both surnamed El 'Amly; renowned warriors, governing the mountain district, north-west of Hebron.

2. Five brothers of the ferocious Hebron Chief against whom they had many real grievances. These were—Salâmeh ibn 'Amer, Ahhmad ibn 'Amer, Hussain ibn 'Amer, 'Amer el 'Amer, Mohammed.

3. Na'ajeh el 'Azizi, of Bait Jibrîn, the rival of the chief of that place, Muslehh.

4. Salem Swaiteh, of Braij.

5. Osmân el Lahhâm, of Arkoob, the mountain dis-

trict immediately north of that of the Amly (No. 1) of this faction, and adjoining to that of Abu Gosh, his ancient enemy. The wars of 1853 had been between this Osmân el Lahhâm and Abu Gosh.

The Arab Bedawy Allies of these were—the Terabeen, under Hhusain abu Sitteh, and a clan of the Tijâhah, under Suliman ibn 'Amer.

And so the Confederacies were prepared and ready for conflict at the first favourable moment, after the harvest was all threshed and in.

Of the actual progress of the Russian war we knew not much accurately.

In the south we had little or no voluntary enlistment for the army. Like all mountaineers, our people had too much attachment to the parent soil to allow of their sharing in foreign military enterprise. It had always been with the greatest difficulty that the Government could obtain half a dozen men for the army by means of conscription; fines were paid when they could not be evaded, the families or villages raising the money among them on behalf of the individuals drawn; but that was all. Indeed it was that very matter, the conscription, which had led to the overthrow of the Egyptian Government in 1840.

Yet we were told at the Seraglio that over the whole aggregate of the Turkish Empire a great warlike spirit was roused. It was, however, as news that we heard it, and it referred to places at a distance. We had no experience of such ardour in Palestine. It was true that the Pashalic of Damascus had furnished and equipped 800 horses and 150 Bashi-Bozuk men.

We were also informed in my correspondence from the north, of the manifestation of almost frantic joy in Bayroot on hearing of the army crossing the Danube, and that, whereas previously the Turkish Government could not get men even by conscription, that town was now filled with volunteers arriving principally from Tripoli (Tarabulus) in the north, and that they were well-conducted people.

The Druzes of Lebanon still held out, refusing to leave their domestic mountains; but we were told that (Maronite) Christians were unexpectedly offering themselves for military service, and awaiting a reply from the capital as to whether their services would be accepted.

So far well, but there was no money in the Exchequer, and the merchants in the north of Syria would not lend. Their backwardness may have been owing to some combination among the Christians (Greek and Armenian; we will hope it was not) imagining that their hour of retribution was at hand, and that it was a sacred duty to forward the grand cause of humbling the Moslem oppressor in that way when it could not be done more openly. Or it may have been a combination of Moslems themselves, who had previously had sufficient experience of Turkish faith in money matters to deter them from embarking in further speculations.

Other nations in their time of need have found, too late, the danger of having incurred distrust among the mercantile classes, and it is not without reason that money has been designated 'the sinews of war.'

It was a matter of fact that the Spanish Armada was detained from its enterprise against England by a com-

bination of Venetian and Genoese bankers; and modern times can furnish examples of a similar character. Danger, however, to even the monied interest occurs when conquerors, such as Attila, or the French Revolutionary armies, resolve upon making the war pay itself, by grasping subsistence and funds as the armies move along. Then, indeed, the vaunted omnipotence of gold finds out its weakness, that being the very object seized upon first of all.[1]

But in 1854 we had no immediate prospect of such a turn in affairs; and the Turkish Government had no Stock Exchange near us, that could be influenced by rise or fall in expectancy of events.

The people were already taxed to the utmost point of endurance, in proportion to income, under a past bad Government; the army was far in arrears of pay, and all that seemed possible to be done, was to collect comparatively small sums by commuting military service of the Christians for money (after the abolition of the kharâj or poll-tax levied on them ever since the Moslem conquest), or by looking sharper than before over the receipts of the customs, or by lowering and raising the value of coins in the bazaars at the season of annual tax-gathering, or by raising compulsory advances of tax payment for which receipts were given, the amount to be

[1] What shall we say of the *Christian* who, as a means of alienating the ancient friends of Turkey, advised the Ottoman Government to repudiate her money obligations? We might imagine an astute diplomatist—*not* a Christian or man of truth—to have given counsel so well devised for angering those who most stood in Russia's way in the East—England and the Roman Catholics—for these were they who chiefly held the Turkish bonds. The author did not live to see this master-stroke of perfidious diplomacy enacted.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

deducted from future years. The paper money for petty sums, called *caimehs*, never came into use in Jerusalem.

Among other methods adopted for supply of funds was the one unpleasant to those affected by it, of calling in all the diamond decorations of Pashàs or others throughout the empire. They were, however, replaced by the silver stars or *plaques*, such as are worn by European nobles and officials.

To return, however, to the course of affairs and to the intelligence which reached Jerusalem, about the movements on the Asiatic side. Successes were reported at Gourieh, and we learned that Shâmil Bey, the Circassian, after having inflicted a defeat on the Russians, was coming southwards to join his forces with Selim Pashà, the Seriasker, on the frontier near Kars.

Very important tidings arrived about Persia, to the effect that the English and Turkish representatives had retired from Persia, on finding that the Shah was taking part with Russia, and further that Persia was despatching three corps d'armée—one to Georgia to act against Selim Pashà, another to attack Bagdad, and the third in the direction of India—the Czar Nicholas having furnished 200,000 tomauns for the expenses; all this was given as by authority from Major Rawlinson. But there soon followed the more welcome announcement that the Shahin Shah had been so affected by the indignant remonstrances of all Islâm throughout the world (so our Moslems said), or by the policy and subsidies of France and England (as was represented by Europeans), that the movements in Central Asia were entirely changed.

It had now become our duty to protect Persia as an

ally, and the next move on the chessboard (I would say on the map of Asia, for the moves on a chessboard not inaptly represent the advances and the checks of politics), appeared in Russia having induced the Khanâts of Khiva and Bokhâra to join the Herâties in hostilities against Persia, and Herât was the *nodus* at the junction of our allies and theirs. This last proceeding was somewhat difficult of comprehension at Jerusalem, where it was well known that the Bokharese are intensely fanatical Sunnis, who look up to the Padishah of Constantinople with even higher veneration than does the Muscovite Mujik to the heavenly vicegerent, his Czar. How, then, could the Tartar Sunnis be led into a hostile attitude against the 'shadow of God' in Ottoman Turkey?

And all this commotion, to the far distant countries in the heart of Asia, had its rise here in the Holy Land. Here in the sanctuaries of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, two very small places, were the main springs and centre of the disturbance that stirred these remote regions of the world to their depth.

This might have been gratifying to human pride, were the interests which attach to Jerusalem and Bethlehem of less sacred character.

But remembering what were the events that invest these venerable sanctuaries with the interest which concerns so deeply the most solemn realities, and touches so closely the most serious feelings of mankind, it became us rather to bow with humility in observing the workings of God's providence in regard to events having so direct a bearing upon the destinies of the Holy Land, and of the world at large.

To us, living in Jerusalem and looking from thence on the course of these events, it seemed that gradually but surely the Holy Land was being brought into notice, that the key to the Eastern Question, present and future, would be found here.

We had among us some political speculators of another stamp, men who concerned themselves chiefly with the material facts of the war, and with estimates of military resources, means of transport, probable lines of march, and such like, on the one side and on the other.

These warned us to look out northwards, and beware lest while the attention of the world was concentrated on the Danube or on Sebastopol, we should be surprised here in Jerusalem by a descent from the Caucasus. One of them pointed out the very road that would be taken by the Russian army, namely, by Aleppo and the valley of the Jordan. This was previous to the arrival of Williams and Teesdale at Erzeroum and Kars; it was during the ill-management, the cowardice or the treason of Selim Pashà, Abdi Pashà and Zareef Pashà.

Strange to say, this apprehension coincided with the anticipations of certain among us who were students of unfulfilled prophecy, including the learned among the Jews, who were looking out for danger to the Holy Land as coming from the north country, and who understood the Prophet Ezekiel (in xxxviii. 2, and xxxix. 1) to be describing the Czar Nicholas as 'the Prince of Russia, Moscow and Tobolsk.'[1]

The Armenian people had also to be taken into account in any forecast of future events. This people,

[1] נשיא ראש משך ותובל The Prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal.

although without a national existence, are still numerous in their own country and are animated by a national sentiment, notwithstanding that many of them are lucratively employed at Constantinople and in other parts of Turkey. Their country forms the connection between Russia, Turkey and Persia, and the great Cathoghigos, or Supreme Patriarch of their religion, resides within the Russian frontiers. In fact, within the remote provinces of Turkey which form Armenia, Russia had long exercised a rough though unrecognised protectorate over that people, through the venal Pashàs.

The apprehension of a descent upon Jerusalem from the north was not diminished afterwards (if I may anticipate by some months the events which occurred) after the surrender of Kars, and the dispersion of Omar Pashà's army in Armenia, when Erzeroum and Bayazid were abandoned.

The successor to M. Botta in the French Consulate, who came in 1855, was a gentleman who had served his country in the Caucasus and understood its resources. He had even still a correspondent in that country. He reminded us that the Russians had there an army of 60,000 men (though they told the world it was only 35,000 strong), and he considered that they were in no way likely to be discouraged by a deficiency in the commissariat between those mountains and Aleppo. It was true that Shâmil, the Circassian Chief, was not yet subdued by the Russians, but they might outflank him, and it would not be possible for him to follow them out of his mountains.

Perhaps we can afford, after the conclusion of the war and at this distance of time [written in 1872], to look

back with more coolness upon such a project, and imagine, if it had succeeded, what would have been the result. Suppose the Russian army to be in Jerusalem and possessed of the Holy Sepulchre, with the manger at Bethlehem, substituting for the Latin Silver Star one with a Russian inscription. What then?

Seawards they would have been helpless, for their Euxine fleet was sunk or locked up in Sebastopol, and their Baltic fleet confined in Cronstadt, while the allied fleet was everywhere at perfect freedom.

Landwards, they would have had European armies disembarked in pursuit; the country itself in insurrection; the Lebanon unsubdued; the Bedaween harassing them towards the south and east; and Shâmil in the north to cut off supplies and retreat.

Oh no! the era of Gog and Magog in the Holy Land is not come yet.

Some years later than the date of the Crimean War, and in reference to a totally different subject, a high-spirited Turkish governor of Jerusalem delighted himself in affirming that when occasion should arise, he had only to raise the green banners of the Hharam-esh-Shereef (Sanctuary on Mount Moriah), and the whole world of Mohammedans would rally in one army around it, and that no crusade from Europe would now-a-days avail against such a demonstration as that. Seeing him in a state of mental exaltation, I merely made him a civil bow, observing that was not the business for which we had met, but that my efforts during all my years of service had been loyal in upholding the Sultan's government.

There is no doubt in my mind that his Excellency was

overrating the enthusiasm that would be practically enlisted from the Arab and other votaries of Mohammed on behalf of the rule of the Osmanli Turks—also that he underrated the knowledge, the skill and the resources of Europeans; although backed by these, Turkey was still a Power among the nations of the earth.

Backed by these, and upheld by a party within the country itself, the Moslems might certainly meet, at great advantage to themselves, any amount of Russian force between Georgia and Aleppo, or that could probably be directed against Jerusalem.

So much for rumours from without, and for the foreign complications and prospects of the year 1854, as they seemed to bear upon us and on Palestine.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

It is instructive now in 1877, when another Russian war has begun, and is threatening the same points, to note the changes that have taken place since 1854, and the removal of some of the obstacles then in the way of a descent on Palestine from the north-east.

First we cannot help noticing the different circumstances of the French nation—Russia's great antagonist on behalf of Latin Christians in the matters of the Holy Places.

Could French armies start in pursuit were the Silver Star to be once more removed from Bethlehem by their Eastern rivals?

Where are Shâmyl and his gallant Circassians?

Have they been so far removed or cut off that they can no longer bar the Russian path?

Bokhâra and other Asiatic allies of the Sultan have been subdued.

The Russian fleets have been restored and are not now as then, either at the bottom of the sea, or shut up in the Baltic.

Finally, England has been by a most ingenious process

alienated from both Moslems and Christians in Turkey—and they from her. To the one body she is now represented as mercenary and selfish—a breaker of faith; to the other as indifferent to the fate of all Christians, save as a matter of political interest. She was induced after the Crimean War to cease from befriending as of old the Christians in Turkey; to neglect enforcing the treaty engagements in their favour; to turn a deaf ear to their appeals.

Moslems and Christians were gradually taught to believe the assertion that Russia was the only friend the Christians had.

It was after this easy to disgust commercial England by the repudiation of Turkish bonds, and next to persuade benevolent and ignorant Englishmen that nothing but cruelty could be got from Turkey for Eastern Christians; but that on the contrary Christian Russia could and would obtain for them freedom from tyranny, and full religious liberty, though these blessings were denied to the Christians by Russia within her own empire.

Many and great are the changes which have taken place since 1854, and most of them, if not all, tend to make it easier for Russia to descend upon the Holy Land from the north-east, which, as the Jews and other students of prophecy anticipate, will be done at no very distant date.

Since the above words were penned, events have progressed with amazing rapidity.

Who can wonder if Moslem and Jew feel that the Great Power from the North has approached with giant strides the goal of his desires in the Holy City Jerusalem?

(February, 1878.)

As for the Russian War in 1854, news came of the invasion of the Crimea by the Allies, and this intelligence put an end to all fear on the part of the native Christians that this would become a mere Holy War, in which indiscriminate massacre of Christians by the Moslems could be probable. Great was their joy and thankfulness.

We learned on October 1st that the landing of the allied armies in the Crimea had taken place on September 14th. The news was brought to us by the Austrian Lloyd's Mail Packet, and was received with great delight by our small community of English.[1]

Such was the condition of the country around Jerusalem during the summer of 1854.

The season was ended, and we broke up our encampments and returned to Jerusalem.

On the same day, October 20th, the death was announced of our old Pashà Yakoob, who had for some time been growing daily feebler, and had of late been very ill indeed.

Shortly before his death a curious occurrence, and in one sense a coincidence, had happened. One day, when I had requested an interview on some matters of business with the Pashà, the superstitious old gentleman begged to be excused, as he was doing no business on that day, because, being Wednesday, it was 'unlucky for business.'[2] This was September 20th, 1854. How little did he or I know that that day was to be noted for ever in time to come—far otherwise than as being 'unlucky' to Turks

[1] Travellers had begun to arrive for the Autumn season. Among them were a physician from Hayti, a negro, but an English subject, and most intelligent man; also our good friend, the Rev. John Bowen, who had formerly lived in Palestine as volunteer missionary. He had mastered Arabic in a short time well enough to speak and preach in it. He is affectionately remembered by the natives as 'Khury Hanna' (Curate John, Curate being used in the old sense of Pastor). He left us after some time, and was consecrated Bishop for Sierra Leone, where he died. Would that more such Englishmen had gone to labour in Palestine!

[2] اَربع لا يجوز 'El'arba' lâ yajooz.' Even the Government Post for Bayroot was sent off three hours before its time, and this without previous notice to us, to have our letters ready.

or English—for at that very hour on that very day the sanguinary struggle of Alma was proceeding, where the hills were reddened with carnage, and re-echoing to the shouts of victory on our side.

Yet the Pashà might have designated that day as ominous for himself had he been able to foresee that on that day month he would be no longer among us. A short illness carried him off on October 20th. He was a very old man. His wife had died but a few weeks before him, and they now lie side by side opposite the Mount of Olives, between St. Stephen's Gate and the 'Golden Gate,' in the Moslem burial-ground on Moriah.

His habits of life had been parsimonious, and his practice in Jerusalem avaricious. At his death there were found large stores of jewels, plate, and clothes. Some of the articles were sold in the city, but many of them were of such high value that no purchasers could be got for them, and they were taken to Constantinople for disposal. Among these latter were some coffee cups, with their *zurfs* (the outer cup, or holder) of filigree gold or silver, studded with diamonds, valued at 500*l.* each; a sword with a jewelled scabbard and handle, valued above 1,000*l.*; eight amber mouth-pieces (for pipes), wreathed with scrolls of diamonds, from 150*l.* to 900*l.* each; and a jacket of the khanum (wife), embroidered with gold and studded with rubies and diamonds, supposed to be worth 1,800 purses, or 9,000*l.*

These objects were far more adapted to the habits of life in the capital than to those of our poor Jerusalem.

Yakoob Pashà Kara Osmân Oglu was dead and buried, and Jerusalem was once more left without a Pashà.

CHAPTER XX.

THE JEWS IN 1854.

Condition of the Jews in 1854—Permission obtained for rebuilding the Synagogue of the Ashkenazim—Jews of Safed and Tiberias protected by M. Finzi, British agent at Acre, and by Mr. Rogers, Vice-Consul at Caifa—Karaite Jews—Fearful distress among Jerusalem Jews—Failure of funds—Scarcity of corn in the market—Inclement winter weather—British Consulate beset by starving people—Efforts for their relief—Pauperism of the Jews in Jerusalem—No employment for them—Compulsory idleness—Attempt to give them agricultural employment—Industrial Plantation—Hundreds apply for work—Women at Miss Cooper's school—Opposition—Sir M. Montefiore and Messrs. Rothschild send relief—The Jewish messengers to other Lands—Chief Rabbi prepares to go to Europe—Death of the Chief Rabbi in Egypt on his way to Europe—Arrival of M. Cohn from Paris—His efforts to found Schools and Industrial Institutions—Opposition of the Rabbis—Their theory—Evils of the System—The leading Jews in America and Europe now recognize need of industrial institutions for Jerusalem.

Our history of the year 1854 would be incomplete without some further account of the condition of the Jews in Jerusalem and Palestine during this period.

There were, as usual, many cases in which they needed the official aid of the British Consulate, and numerous documents in my hand refer to the instances in which active official intervention with the Turkish Government was exercised on their behalf.

Notwithstanding the proper jealousy of the Government in regard to any interference with their rule over their own subjects, there are many indirect ways of

ameliorating the condition of these latter, as well as of the Jews under British protection.

As the proverb says, 'Where there is a will there is a way,' and even the Oriental Jews (Turkish subjects), with the 'First in Zion' at their head, derived at that time many visible, and also invisible, benefits from the action of our Consulate—the Consul being not afraid of the reproach often implied by his being designated 'half a Jew.'

The benevolent intentions of Lord Palmerston towards the Jews had been shown when the British Consulate was first founded in 1838, and when the first British Consul had been instructed to 'afford protection to the Jews generally,' and also to use his good offices, in a friendly way, with the Government on behalf of any distressed Israelite, no matter what his nationality might be.

The greatest advantages had resulted to the Jews from this indirect protection, and as a natural consequence Jews of all kinds continually resorted to the British Consulate at all times for advice when in distress, and they received every kind of help which could be properly afforded to them. They were no longer outwardly persecuted—being well known to be under British protection.

Among other matters I laid before our Ambassador a petition for the Ashkenaz community to be allowed to have a Synagogue of their own—their number being now so great that it was very inconvenient for them to be obliged to worship in the crowded Sephardi Synagogues.

In due time the petition was granted, and a very

handsome Synagogue was built by the Perushim. The Chasidim afterwards built another.

The Russian Jews—now, since 1850, British *protégés*—enjoyed, especially in Safed and Tiberias, a tranquillity to which they had long been strangers, and the Consulate was well seconded in regard to them by Mr. Rogers, the new Vice-Consul at Caifa, besides whom we had had, from long previous years, as British Consular Agent at Acre, Mr. Finzi, who was a Jew.

But then I always understood, and made these people understand, that protection was a correlative term—one that implied not merely advocacy by us of their interests as to person and property, but likewise a jurisdiction of the Consulate over their transgressions, when there were any brought before us.

A question had arisen in the Seraglio, after the arrival of Yakoob Pashà, about the Karaite Jews—whether or not they were Russian subjects, and therefore liable to expulsion on account of the declaration of war between Turkey and Russia. They had never been considered as Russian subjects, and their number was so insignificant that they had been hitherto overlooked. It was always asserted of them by the other (Rabbinical) Jews that it was a judgment from heaven on the Karaites that they were never able to muster a *minyan*, *i.e.* a quorum of ten adults of families, for forming a lawful congregation according to Jewish ordinance. They did not amount to that number, but then they did not care about this Talmudical number of ten being necessary, any more than for any other Rabbinical rule.

The Orientals find it difficult to dissociate the idea of nationality from the bond of religion. The word '*milleh*' includes both ideas in its use in the tax-papers, and therefore, inasmuch as the centre of Karaism is at Sukûm-Kaleh, in the Crimea, the idea was started that this people ought to be regarded as Russian subjects, and therefore ejected from Turkey under present circumstances. After a few days, however, we heard no more of the matter. The subject had probably been mooted only in order to exact backsheesh, or bribes.

Allusion has already been made to the distress which prevailed in Jerusalem in the year 1854, and more especially during the first part of the year.

The stagnation of trade, caused by the war, and the scarcity caused by the corn supplies being kept back out of the market, caused distress to all classes. Even among the Europeans there were cases of respectable hardworking families being at times without bread for a day at a time. All prices were rising independently of the exceptional circumstances of this year. The influx of Europeans and the altered condition of the country had caused an advance upon, in some cases had even doubled, the cost of many necessaries of life within the last five years.

But now special causes were at work, and produced so great an amount of distress as we had never known before in Jerusalem. The Christian poor were relieved by the communities to which they severally belonged; the great Convents opened for their aid some of the stores of grain, always in reserve for time of need. The Moslems, to some extent, aided each other. The laws of hospitality

are held so sacred that even a wealthy Moslem, who might be keeping, locked up, a supply of corn which ought to have been available for supply in the open market, and who was thus helping to produce famine among the poor, would scarcely venture to turn from his door a hungry brother who might present himself at supper time among the guests or among the retainers of the house.

The people for whom alone there were no reserve stores, no helpers, no richer brethren from whose table so much as a crumb might be picked up, were the Jews.

For them there was absolutely no provision in this time of dire distress. Worse still, the fund from which some among them had been in the habit of receiving a pittance, if only a few shillings each year, was now exhausted.

The Community, or Corporation, of Sephardi Jews were almost in a state of bankruptcy. Whatever funds were sent to them by the charity of their brethren in Europe, or other countries of the East, barely sufficed to pay off some of the interest due to Moslem and Christian creditors, who held bonds on the Sephardi Community. They had besides to pay large fees to the Turkish Government, and presents at the Moslem festivals to all the authorities and principal Effendis, as well as to Abu Gosh. The presents of sugar offered in white loaves at the end of Ramadan to the Moslem grandees came to a large sum annually.

The Ashkenaz Fund was in no better condition. A large portion of their income was derived from Russia, where the Jews are wealthy and pious. But the out-

break of the war had caused a temporary suspension of the remittances, and had also very seriously diminished the amount of money actually contributed.

The rain had fallen in January and again at the beginning of February. At various times during this season we have not only snow, but rain in torrents; there is then no more fear of water being scarce for those who have cisterns. The water-supply of Jerusalem is not from springs, but each house has its own cistern, into which the rain is collected as it falls upon the flat roofs and terraces.

But in the Jewish quarter it is always scarce, first, because of the crowded state of the houses, in each of which several families live; secondly, because the Moslem landlords have allowed the cisterns to fall into disrepair, so that the greater number of them hold little or no water. Hence the poor Jews have always to buy water, which they obtain from the peasantry, who bring it into the city in skins on their asses, from the springs at Siloam, Lifta, and elsewhere. When the rain has been abundant, the Jews have to pay less; but when the rains are delayed, exorbitant prices are charged, and the misery and suffering endured by men, women, and children in the Jewish quarter, for want of water to drink, are grievous to witness.

The state of poverty among the Jews at this time exceeded anything we had before known. Parents were said to be selling their children to Moslems, as the only way of preserving their lives. Some were found dead in their rooms. Among those whom we personally knew there was scarcely a family that was not in the deepest

distress. Little children cried themselves to sleep at night for hunger.

A poor man who came just too late to share in the distribution of bread could not be got rid of. It was found his children were without food. On a small loaf being given to him, he was in such haste to run home with it that he left his cap behind him.

Some of the high class, but poor, Rabbis, even of the Sephardim, were living on dried figs and the kind of oil-cake used for feeding cattle, which remains as refuse when the oil has been expressed from sesame seed.

While the British Consulate was thus beset by starving people, alas! the Jewish quarter contained thousands more who were either unable or unwilling to come and seek relief.

A small ladies' society was formed for the purpose of raising funds, and for visiting in the Jewish quarter. The amount of squalid poverty discovered there was truly appalling.

The lowest imaginable condition of human life—the extremity of misery—was found to exist in a sort of crypt, or set of underground rooms, beneath one of the Synagogues. This place is popularly known among the Jews by the name of the 'Hakdash,' and there wretched widows, and such-like poor women, unable to pay any rent for rooms to live in among their fellow creatures, are permitted out of charity to exist, albeit in darkness and worst of air, with no allowance for food, all huddled in small holes—the broken-hearted, the diseased, and even the insane, promiscuously together. These people being only women, had, we were told, no claim on the Chalûka.

The ladies who penetrated into this place gave us fearful accounts of the scenes there witnessed.[1]

It was thus, during the terrible year 1854, that the real condition of the Jewish quarter was revealed to us. We became aware, as we had never before been aware, that there is among the Jews of Jerusalem an amount of misery and hopeless poverty, inconceivable to those who have not been eye-witnesses of the condition of this unfortunate people.

For the most serious part of the matter was this—that the wretchedness was found to be anything but temporary—not mere passing distress, caused by the war, by the price of corn, or fuel, or the diminution of the funds, but a chronic state of hopeless pauperism—was found to be at all times the condition of the great majority of Jews in the Holy City.

The temporary causes of distress had pressed with such force upon those unfortunate people because they had been already previously reduced to the lowest state of existence. Those who had been for months and years hardly existing upon the miserable allowance which, even at the best times, was all their means of support, now sank, not so much from present privations, as from the effects of long previous want.

Without stores of money, food, or water, they had now nothing to fall back upon.

Worst of all, they had no employment whereby they might have received, if only bare bread and water. They

[1] Every town where Jews are numerous has, or ought to have, its 'Hakdash'—a place set apart for charity to the poor—but it need not be of this description.

had never any employment. There was none for them to have. And yet many of them were artisans, carpenters, tin-smiths, glaziers, dyers, tailors, etc., etc. We knew this, because we had always found that it was in the Jewish quarter we could find people able to do for us Europeans such work as the Oriental mechanics did not understand, and we knew by experience that the Jews were not only able to work, but that they were thankful and eager to be employed.

But there was no work for them. Oriental Christians have so great a prejudice and superstitious hatred of Jews, that they would not on any account have dealings with them. The Moslems had artisans of their own, and even when they needed and employed the superior skill or knowledge of some Jewish workman, it was long before the poor Jew could get the money due to him for his work, and in but too many cases, he was too timid to press for payment, and thus never got it at all. Of all the inhabitants of Jerusalem there were at that period none to employ Jews, and pay them for their labour, but the few families belonging to our English congregation.

That is to say, there was no employment whatever to be had, excepting an occasional bit of work for some carpenter, glazier, or tailor, etc., and the hundreds of willing Jewish artisans were obliged to exist in compulsory idleness, and chronic starvation.

The ordinary mortality among the poor Jews, for want of sufficient food, water, and fresh air, was very great. Now, during the distresses of 1854, it was fearful.[1]

[1] The information given below is interesting as showing the amount of corn ground at the public mills in Jerusalem. The poor had their corn

The everyday scenes preached, as loud as acts and facts could speak, the miseries of a state of dependence on precarious charitable funds for subsistence.

Not only the uncertainty of supply from abroad, but the unhealthiness of body induced by confinement to the city, with exercise and air gained by walking only over a very few streets, and the deterioration of character necessarily incident to a condition of dependent pauperism, were evils inseparable from the system.

It seemed desirable after and beyond the relief of immediate starvation, to substitute, for a condition of mere and sheer mendicancy, one of useful industry. Out-of-door employment had been already formerly given to considerable numbers, and good effects had been produced by the earning of wages, with fresh air and exercise.

All this led my wife and myself to make increased exertions for carrying out our long projected design of relieving the Jewish condition of chronic poverty by means of employment of an agricultural character.

A plot of ground of about eight to twelve English

ground at these mills, but in many of the native houses the old handmill was still used by the women.

August 2, 1854. As to the consumption of wheat for bread in Jerusalem and the mills for grinding flour, enquiries being made for a Syrian visiting Jerusalem, 20 mills are kept in constant work. These grind each on an average 3½ Cantars each, or 50 Cantars the whole, equal to 12 tons English.

The charge for grinding is 15 paras the Rottol; 1,500 paras, or nearly 7 shillings, the Cantar.

The grinding is badly performed, far inferior to what might be done by a European steam mill. Wood for fuel could be delivered in Jerusalem at the rate of near 200 lb. weight for one shilling. Labour wages would be about one shilling on the average.

The establishment of machinery property in Jerusalem would be perfectly secure.

I give this at the request of ——

(Signed) J. Finn.—[Editor's Note.]

acres had been purchased for this object in 1852, on which, as soon as money could be obtained for supplying wages, some of the poor had been set to work.

That land was set apart for ever under the name of 'the Industrial Plantation for employment of Jews of Jerusalem,' and it was in due time placed under the security of three trustees.

The design was not so much to constitute a rural colony of farmers on this spot, as to afford daily employment *to residents of the city*, returning from work every evening to their families.

It was always designed that other branches of Jewish agricultural employment that might be carried on in other places in the vicinity should be associated with this institution, under the general name of 'Industrial Plantation.'

We were not so sanguine as to expect pallid creatures, weakened by hunger and disease, to perform the labours of healthy robust peasants of the villages, but at least they could clear off the loose stones from the land in baskets; they could assist in building up dry walls of enclosure with the guidance of a few peasants; they could carry water from the cistern, and they could *learn* to do other things.

These tasks would be profitable and preparatory. Upon such tasks we had already, in 1850 to 1853, employed as many poor Jews as the small funds at our disposal had permitted. Now in 1854 we applied to friends in England, and elsewhere, to send us the means of relieving some of the vast amount of misery around us, by means of employment in the open air. The

appeal was responded to, and funds were sent from England, from India, and also one or two contributions from America. By the month of April money had arrived, and we were able to set the people to work. Implements for work were bought, chiefly baskets and the small kind of pickaxe, called *Fâs*, and the other tool in common use, intermediate between the *Fâs* and a spade, called *Mejrefeh*.

Notice was given to the Jews that employment on the land might be obtained for wages on the ground above-mentioned; the Arabic name which it bore among the peasants, its former owners, was Ker'm el Khaleel—the vineyard of the Friend—*i.e.*, of Abraham, by which epithet Abraham is always known. The very name of the ground was attractive, and the effect of the announcement fulfilled our best expectations.

The foreman in charge of the work was a Polish Jew who had been in the Russian army.

It might perhaps have been dangerous in those days for weak defenceless Jews to go alone even so far from Jerusalem to work among the native peasantry. But there was no risk in their doing so while the work was known and understood to be under the supervision, although in an informal way, of a Consul. One day a peasant, one of the former owners of the ground, gave a little trouble, while the Jews were building the outer wall of enclosure. The peasant endeavoured to interfere and to defraud us of a bit of land; he used threatening language, and then threw stones. A complaint was made to the Pashà, and next morning the offender found himself in prison. After a day or two he came and brought

a respectable Moslem of the city as security for his good behaviour. Next day he appeared, humbly begging to be allowed to do some ploughing, which the Jews were not strong enough or able to do. We found him at work among them—laughing, skipping, and running—and there was never another attempt at rough usage of our Jewish workmen.

After operations were fairly started, I one day, after a hard day's office work, rode out towards the plantation, to see the men return from labour. They were met coming over the lanes and fields carrying their baskets and tools on their shoulders; a ragged troop, very ragged but very happy, singing a chorus in Hebrew, 'We are labourers in the field of Abraham, our father.'

My eyes filled with tears as the words came to recollection, 'They shall return to Zion with singing, and everlasting joy shall be upon their heads' (Isaiah xxxv. 10), taking this as a very small indication of the better days to come for their nation.

Next day our whole family went out to see them at work: some were clearing away stones, others building boundary walls of enclosure; some vines and mulberry trees had already been planted, it was too late in the year for planting olive shoots—the foreman, seated at a table in the sunshine, for as yet no house was built, had his Hebrew account-books before him.

Conformably with the Oriental peasant customs, the labourers broke occasionally into short phrases sung in chorus, in Arabic, to airs somewhat monotonous, such as 'Ya Khaleel Allah' ('O thou friend of God!'), referring to Abraham; 'Ya Moosa Kereem Allah' (O Moses, the

favoured of God!'); probably a play upon the word Ker'm (vineyard or plantation), followed by clapping of hands from those who were taking short rest, when supplied by relief. The Sephardim Jews present performed the Tahhleel or trill with the tongue, as exclamations of welcome, and introduced into their chants our names in Hebrew.

At sunset a boy got on the top of a mound and called the signal for leaving off work. It was droll enough and touching, too, to see the rags—oh, such picturesque rags! then hastily put on, the queer old hats, the turbans, and fur caps. Some boys were fain to hide theirs by turning a basket over their head. And so the procession returned towards Jerusalem, some carrying tools, some baskets, some books, for they regularly offered the afternoon prayers according to Hebrew rite, turning towards the desolated temple sanctuary on Mount Moriah. Once in the city, the whole troop repaired to the bakers' (also Jews), to get bread for their families, which was paid for every Friday as soon as the wages were received, before Sabbath.

In less than a week afterwards a deputation came on the ground from a Synagogue, and denounced the work as unlawful. On hearing this, I asked the foreman how many men he expected to come on the morrow? His answer was 'Alle' (All); and pointing to two or three men, ragged and pale, he assured me that they were profound Talmudists, capable of judging for themselves what was lawful in Rabbinical Law, one of them being considered to surpass even Rabbi Yeshaiah himself, the Chief of the Perushim. That calculation was right: the poor

people did continue to come and to work for daily bread for themselves and their starving families.

There were among the workpeople Rabbis and schoolmasters, students and artisans, people of all ages, from 75 to 100; all were starving, and all were willing to try at least and labour for daily bread.

The rate of wages which was paid to the Jewish workmen was the same as that paid to Arab peasants, who, however, were of course able-bodied men and could do much more for the money; but it must be remembered that $3\frac{1}{2}$ piastres given to a Fellahh is to him worth more than twice its value to a poor Jew.

The Fellahh, robust and well fed, is himself a small farmer, and possesses sheep and oxen, and land, which furnish him with wheat, barley, lentils, olives, grapes, cheese, fuel, and an occasional kid, all for nothing. His own family draw water, grind his corn, bake, cook, and spin for him, and he lives in his own hut or cottage, rent free. Whatever he gets as wages is therefore either buried in the ground as a hoard, or laid out in more oxen and land.

The poor Jew on the contrary, starved and feeble, has no stores of cheap provisions laid up. He pays exorbitant rent, has to buy fuel, water, and clothing; possesses not a farthing wherewith to buy even a quarter of a measure of wheat at the extravagant price charged in the market. He must therefore obtain from some baker as many loaves day by day as his little wages give him the prospect of paying for at the end of each week—loaves on which the farmer, miller, and baker have all laid their percentage for a livelihood; and it often happens

that our poor workpeople, when after receiving their weekly earnings on the Friday, they have paid the baker for these few loaves, have nothing left to buy a Sabbath meal.

We had been in much perplexity between the difficulty of raising the general scale of wages, which would be injurious as regards the peasantry, but which would give enough to at least feed our poor Jewish labourers. We had at length determined on paying only the common rate of wages, but to give as much food and clothing as we could.

Many of the poor people having suffered from the great change from a life of study to exposure under the burning Syrian sun, and the late starvation, had much reduced their strength. By medical advice we gave each a small loaf and couple of eggs in the morning before starting.

As the work became known, more money arrived from England, and with it a remittance from Philadelphia, in America.

Money to be distributed as mere alms we declined to take. But the overwhelming distress had become known to the Missionaries and to the English Bishop, who had appealed to England for means of distributing relief. By the time that summer arrived, considerable sums had been received by them, and applied in the distribution of money, food, and clothing to some of the most destitute. A store of wheat was also laid up at harvest time, when grain was cheap, to meet the needs of the poor in the dear season next winter.

The Jews at work on the 'Industrial Plantation' had

made good progress in clearing the ground and erecting walls of enclosure by May 9. This was satisfactory, to say nothing of the crowd of happy faces among the workmen.

It was found that the people had become so weakened by their continued poverty, and by the recent severe privations which they had undergone, that many of them were physically incapable of walking to their work, even the short distance of about a mile and a half, without becoming ill. Not a few were seized with fever, and had to lie down by the wayside helpless till the fit passed off sufficiently to allow of their crawling home again.

The immediate cause of this was that they went out to work fasting—having no food at home. It was therefore determined, as said above, to provide each man before starting with a loaf and two hard boiled eggs, and make him eat at least part of it for his breakfast. Water to drink was distributed along the line from barrels carried by donkeys.

About seventy in number assembled before our house at sunrise. It was a strange sight to see them seated in lines along the shady side of the wall, with the following objects grouped in separate heaps on the open space of ground before them :—1. A couple of empty barrels for water ; 2. A basket of loaves and a large tin kettle with eggs ; 3. Baskets, pickaxes, and lever, great hammer, and ropes, being the tools for the field work. A donkey was brought up to carry the barrels. Then the food was distributed—the people were silent—some reading their (Hebrew) morning prayers. They were not so ragged

as formerly—all with clean faces, and some with clean stockings.

In less than a month their number rose to 100, and in a few days more we had 130 at work.

But the distress in the Jewish Quarter continued very severe. This was now chiefly owing to the drying up of the scanty funds in possession of the Community.

Young Rabbis of the oldest and proudest families came to ask leave to join the Jews at work in the fields, and even Jewish women applied to us in their despair for field work; but the result of consultation on that subject was that such labour was neither expedient nor desirable for women, especially as there existed at that time in Jerusalem Miss Cooper's institution for teaching and employing Jewesses in needlework, of which needful art they had been for the most part deplorably ignorant.

The incident, however, served as an indication of the distressed state of the Jewish Quarter. One poor woman besought with tears to be allowed to go to work; she said she had lost all but one of eighteen children, and the last was starving. Others came back again and again and brought other people to intercede, that their petition might be granted. But this would have been imprudent on our part, and it was resolved to apply part of the money sent out from England for relief of distress, in opening a house in the city as an adjunct to Miss Cooper's School of Industry, where some more of the poor women might be employed in knitting and sewing. The difficulty of selection was very great. Ninety-five were soon at work. Miss Cooper already had eighty-five working in her own house, so that there were

thus 160 women relieved, together with their families, making a total of 350. The number of men and boys at work at the same time was 203, with their families 450. The consumption of loaves was now 1,100 a week. They were but small, and a proportion was given to the blind, sick, and bedridden.

On my return from a journey to Nazareth (July 22), I learned that the Rabbis had issued violent denunciations against both the Plantation and Miss Cooper's School of Industry. And on the 24th, their delegates were posted with whips at the Jaffa gate to flog back all Jews proceeding with their tools to work on the Plantation.

This measure was not, however, in all cases effective, for several of the poor people climbed over the city wall at a practicable spot, or ran round to the Damascus gate, and so reached the means of procuring food and wages. The very old and otherwise feeble could do nothing but submit to the spiritual discipline of the whip.

Strange to say, some of the Missionaries of the London Society were angered at the same time because we refused leave for them to come upon the ground expressly for religious controversy, and this during the working hours.

The object of the institution was to relieve distress by means of honest industry. But at the same time, the perfect freedom and religious liberty of the workpeople were respected. The Jews used to suspend their work for a few minutes at the hour when afternoon sacrifice was formerly offered in the Temple, which is now the time for prayer. But if the English Consul had authorised professed Missionaries of an English Society to come

and preach and hold religious discussions, it might have savoured of attempting to convert needy people by taking undue advantage of their distress.

The Industrial Plantation was intended to be in strict accuracy a place for work, where Jews might earn their bread. Now and then it happened that one or two who applied for admission and joined the others in the field had become Christians, but were, like the others, eligible for employment as being Jews in distress.

During the autumn some English friends of the Industrial Plantation sent out at our suggestion an iron oil press to be set up there.

It so happened that at the same time the Rev. Mr. Bowen, Agent of the Church Missionary Society in Nabloos, had had sent to him a similar machine for employment of Protestants in that town, one of rather larger size than ours.

Both the presses were freighted and consigned to the care of the Rev. J. Nicolayson. After considerable time spent in sorting the pieces for each, the presses were at length delivered to their respective charitable institutions.

We pressed a small quantity of olives, and made some good wine. Some fruit and vegetables were also grown; enough to prove the fertility of the soil, and the certainty that agricultural enterprise might be profitably carried on in Palestine.

Thus the work was continued throughout the summer; and, finding that the Jews were eager to take such employment as we could give them, and their health and power of working improved daily, we were most desirous of continuing the effort, and we hoped that per-

manent good might result. While at that time the immediate object was *not*, as we wrote to England, '*profitable farming* which should return cash profit, but *employing Jewish poor* who come to us *en masse* for relief.' We appealed to England for aid in carrying forward the plan, and establishing farms and colonies in fertile lands elsewhere. At the present moment, the point of importance was to relieve distress by means of labour, and to heal the cankering evil of pauperism.

Some interest was manifested on the subject. An Association was formed in London to aid in giving agricultural employment to the Jews; but the English public knew but little of the circumstances of the case. It was supposed that as the harvest had come in, and as the wealthy Jews had, before the autumn of 1854, spent considerable sums in relieving some of the present distress, that all need for special effort was at an end. And thus, while the numbers of those who applied to us for work increased daily, the funds at our disposal began to fall off.

The good people in England did not know that the Jews of Jerusalem had no kind of employment by which they could earn daily bread. We were under the painful necessity of reducing our numbers; and when we did so, it was grievous to learn that some who had begun to benefit by the food and fresh air, soon sank down—in one case at the Synagogue door—and died of want. The work on the Industrial Plantation was carried on, not only to the end of the year, but during our residence in Jerusalem, with whatever funds were from time to time entrusted to our care for the relief of Jewish distress by

means of out-of-doors work. We should have thankfully carried out a plan for permanent and self-supporting institutions; but this could not be done with the small and fluctuating funds at our command—more especially as these funds were intended for the relief of immediate and pressing wants, rather than for application to any scheme which might yield more remote benefits, even though of a lasting character.

Some permanent benefits have, however, resulted from the work done as above described.

The idea of labouring in the open air for daily bread had taken root among the Jews of Jerusalem—the hope of cultivating the desolate soil of their own Promised Land was kindled. These objects were never again lost sight of. The Jews themselves took them up. Considerable progress has been made in both. The time has, perhaps, come for our efforts to be renewed in a more systematic manner for employment of Jews in the Holy Land.

Sir Moses Montefiore and other wealthy Jews sent liberal donations to the Rabbinical authorities, as soon as they heard of the distress which their brethren were in; but these sums, large as they were, were at once absorbed among the needy multitude like water among the sand, and left no trace behind. In July the Rabbis of the Perushim and Chasidim Communities came to me, as to the other Consuls in Jerusalem, to have their signatures attested in the documents which they were forwarding to Europe, as to the distribution of the funds received. They told me that the last distribution had given to each man of the Perushim 16 piastres

(3*s.* 2*d.*), and to the Sephardim 12½ (2*s.* 6*d.*), not enough for one week's real nourishment; and yet a large sum had been sent and divided.

The Jewish Community, as a body corporate—(and here the phrase Jewish is used in its local sense as applying to the Sephardi or Spanish Community, who are recognised by the Turkish Government as the Representatives and Chiefs of the Jewish people)—the community were at this period in imminent danger of total bankruptcy. They owed about 15,000*l.*, which was an enormous sum for Jerusalem.

Bankruptcy at this moment would have been a dreadful calamity. Those Moslems and Native Christians who had lent money (*i.e.* invested in Jewish bonds), in consideration of receiving exorbitant interest, would become furious at the loss of their money. And a large portion of the debt was owing to poor Jews, who, on arriving from abroad to settle in Jerusalem, had put their 10*l.*, or 20*l.*, or 30*l.*, being all their substance, into the Fund, in order that the interest might help to support them.

These poor people would have been hopelessly ruined by the catastrophe of bankruptcy.

It is well known that pious Jews desire to end their lives in the Holy Land, and that for this purpose they come to Palestine, often very late in life, and with little or no means of subsistence. Some few, however, do bring a little money with them, the produce of life-long savings. This money they generally deposit in the common Fund, drawing thenceforward only the interest to the day of their death, and this pittance, together with

some trifling allowance from the common funds, is their sole support. Again, who has not heard of the box in every synagogue all over the world, into which the pious put contributions for the maintenance of their brethren who pray for them in Jerusalem?

The number actually relieved by means of all the utmost efforts which we or others could exert was pitiably small compared with the distress that prevailed in the Jewish Quarter. At best only some hundreds were relieved out of the thousands in want. The Jews themselves sent urgent appeals abroad, and despatched Shilichim in various directions.

In explaining the custom of sending Shilichim (Jewish collectors) over the world for alms in support of the brethren, I have not concealed my opinion of the mischievous effect generally of that practice. It must be confessed, nevertheless, that, sunk deep in public debt, and urged by the extraordinary sufferings of their people at this period (1854), the chiefs of the Jewish Community might well be excused for making even unusual efforts to obtain relief.

It was, however, with pain that I received from the Chief Rabbi and his Council an application for letters of recommendation for themselves in a projected Mission to Europe as Shilichim for their people. This was in the week for which the proper passage of the Law of Moses, read in the Synagogue in due course on the Sabbath, is that called '*Shalakh*,' and which begins with the words, 'Send thou men.' Doubtless, the Rabbis had intentionally so arranged the commencement of this their great journey to England as that it might be begun in that week while

reading the history of God's command to Moses, 'Send thou men.' (Numbers xiii. 2.) They were to start next morning.

Never before in the history of the Holy City had such an event occurred, as for the 'First in Zion' to be driven to setting forth himself on a toilsome journey to other lands, in order to solicit alms for the relief of his people in the Holy Land. The Jews felt intensely the humiliation, and it was impossible to refrain from sympathising with them. I at once furnished the documents needed, and the party started.

But after reaching Jaffa, the Rabbis returned suddenly to Jerusalem. At that time the reason did not appear, but it must have been that tidings reached them on the Coast, which seemed to render the voyage unnecessary.[1]

For in a few days later M. Albert Cohn arrived, a distinguished Israelite from Paris, bringing very large supplies for instant succour of Jewish distress, as well as for establishing permanent institutions—such as children's schools, institutions for manual work, and a lying-in hospital in connection with the hospital already existing. We were informed that some of the funds were from French sources; but a large portion from the Vienna Rothschilds, to whom a letter had been sent describing the efforts made in Jerusalem to meet the distress.

A great affair was made of the inauguration of the

[1] The journey was only deferred for a few weeks. The Chief Rabbi and his suite actually started, and got as far as Alexandria, where the poor old man died in Egypt. He was buried by order of the authorities with military honours, as being head of one of the Great Religious Communities recognised by the Sultan.

projected institutions, and others were announced to follow.

At the opening of the new hospital, Austrian, Prussian, English, and French Consuls were invited and attended. Speeches were delivered by M. Cohn, who, in his exuberant glorification of France and Paris as 'the centre from which all freedom and civilisation radiate,' contrived to offend the susceptibilities of others of the national representatives present. The speaker even proceeded to decree that henceforth the Turkish Empire was to be revived under the patronage of France.

Then, by virtue of his lineage as 'a priest' (Cohn), he mounted on the roof of the new ward of the hospital, and, turning towards the Mount of Olives, and surveying the Jewish wailing place, the great broken arch, and the site of the Temple, he pronounced in Hebrew the Aaronic benediction of Numbers vi. 24, &c.

So far so good; but what else?

The bigotry of the Rabbis thwarted all his plans—except the hospital and the distribution of alms;—schools, and all that might savour of Gentile education were repudiated, lest they should interfere with 'Holy Gemara;' and his industrial establishments came to *nil.*

Even when Dr. Fränkel, of Vienna, visited Jerusalem the following year, he found no school, and he complains of the want of useful secular institutions.[1]

Dr. Fränkel, himself a strict and pious Jew, is eloquent on the subject of the necessity of helping the Jews,

[1] See 'Nach Jerusalem,' 1856, or English translation, 'Jews in the East,' p. 129.

by means of industry, to rise from the pauperised condition in which they were existing.

'Who is to teach the people, who is to incite them to labour? The teachers? They do not labour themselves. The Rabbis? It is their interest that the present state of things should continue, that the cry for bread should reach to every land, and that all the Jews in the earth should show their sympathy by sending alms, without suspecting that by doing so, they are demoralizing their co-religionists in the place which they esteem to be most holy.

'Give them work that they may learn to work; buy them ands which they may possess here, though they cannot do so at home, that they may earn their bread as GOD has appointed, in the sweat of their brow, that they may become a noble community, instead of a colony of beggars, and that they may sanctify the name of the Lord.'

But the Rabbis could not be expected to look with favour on any plans for secular employment of the Jews in the Holy Land.

According to the theory of the Rabbis, the Holy Land should in the present condition of 'Galuth,' *i.e.* Captivity, *i.e.* deprivation of possession of the territory, be kept uncontaminated by secular employment. No man ought to work for a livelihood. Everyone should be engaged in Sacred pursuits, on behalf of the absent nation in other lands, and everyone should therefore subsist upon the Chalûkah resulting from the benevolence of the brethren in other lands. Such is the theory. What is the working of this? It begets a nation of paupers. A population, whose humble pittance of bread, mere bread, is dependent upon their spiritual rulers; a population

who literally dare not 'call their souls their own,' and therefore, of such as dare not, from dread of losing their Chalûkah, exercise any opinion of their own on any subject. The system begets a race of spies and flatterers.

It is needless to inquire what Rabbinical rule in Jerusalem must be when the Sephardi 'House of Judgment' (Beth Din) had delegated to it, by the Turkish Government, legal powers of imprisoning and bastinadoing its subjects, if they were Sephardim natives; and it is equally easy to conceive what it must have been over all Jews in the ante-Consular times, before European laws were enforced for the benefit of all classes alike.

The powers above referred to are now somewhat modified; but even now the Turkish Government leaves a large measure of authority over the respective members of each religious community in the hands of the recognised Chief. The Chief Rabbi of the Sephardim—called 'First in Zion,' or Khakham Bashi—is looked on as the ruler of his people and their responsible head, much as the Patriarchs of the Christian Churches are regarded, in respect of the Christians under their pastoral care and actual jurisdiction.

The Rabbis are the Governors of their people.

To this day the Rabbis of the Ashkenazim (Europeans), who have no such legal powers from the Turkish Government, have spiritual terrors to wield and the Chalûkah to withhold, so as to keep their people in perpetual bondage.

We have already seen that the Rabbis systematically discourage worldly occupations, in order to exalt the merit and reputation of a life devoted to pious study.

Among the European (even more than the Oriental) Jews, there are mechanics and handicraftsmen, those who in Russia or Germany had laboured for a livelihood.

But as they grow old, the habits of the place and the mental atmosphere in Jerusalem overpower them, for why should one be a carpenter or a glazier, when by reciting the Book of Psalms, or praying 'Kadish,' for pay of persons, and on their behalf, in other countries, the reputation of learning and the approbation of the Rabbis can be earned, and after all they feel a strange species of fascination personally in poring over Talmud and Cabbala.

Starting from the principle that Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, and Tiberias were Holy Cities, it is but a natural deduction therefrom that all avocations of life should be subordinate to the character of the places, that all daily pursuits and industries should be of a sacred character. But the Rabbinical books have built up such a pile of pretensions for domination by the Rabbinist order over all others, that it has become a settled dogma that the Holy Cities are to be, at all risks, consecrated solely to the perpetual study of the Law, by day and by night. By the 'Law' is understood the oral Laws of the Talmud, besides and above the written Law of the Bible.

The routine too, which the spiritual rulers prescribe for the religious life of each individual, interferes grievously, when strictly observed, with the secular pursuits of life; it is a ritual treadmill unknown elsewhere, unless, perhaps, among the learned in Poland, who are salaried for the purpose of observing its requirements. In Jerusalem, however, the keeping of minor festivals and mere

calendar notices are enforced by penalties from the 'House of Judgment;' thus a poor mechanic is compelled to keep holy, beyond the Sabbath,—

Monday, for public reading of the Law;
Tuesday, is called the Ki Tov;
Wednesday, is preparation for Thursday;
Thursday, is public reading of the Law;
Friday, is Eve of Sabbath, on which day no work can be done for several hours before sunset;

besides the annual observances of '*Selikhoth*,' the numbering of days from Passover to Pentecost, with other canonical or local obligations, and of course all the regular Fasts and Feasts.

It has been said that they 'bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and will not so much as move them with one of their fingers,' and all this is as rigidly enforced in the other holy cities—Hebron, Safed, and Tiberias; but in these the oppression is not felt so much, because the people have not so much intercourse with European life; in these three cities the life of Rabbinical ritualism was as much a matter of course as the life of the interior of monasteries.

It belongs to a theologian or to a casuist to describe fully what the Rabbinical religion consists of; but in regard of quantity of matter, and difficulty of study, it is undoubtedly enough to absorb the whole term of human life.

To maintain a whole population devoted to this kind of study as their sole employment, even on the lowest of food and clothing, it is of course necessary to obtain help from without. This it is attempted to do by means

of the system of Shelichûth. The Jewish Community have also borrowed money from the City population, and the loans bear enormous interest, payable out of the Common Fund (called the Colel Fund), as the receipts come in. This interest, and also the interest due to the Jewish annuitants (having claims on the Fund in virtue of their deposits), being first paid, a mere minimum is left for the poor for whose relief the money was sent, and who have no vote or power to prevent augmentation of the principal of the debt.

As a resource for permanent maintenance of a whole population, this system cannot but be very mischievous. It is decidedly wrong to attempt to keep up a body of ten thousand people in one city for the mere performance of devotional functions. As a good friend, one of the Jews themselves, said to me: 'What should we say in any other place to having all the men clergymen?'

Yet in practice the idea is not and cannot be carried out. There must be handicraftsmen and other laity; and these ought not to be the slaves of a money-dispensing corporation. The idea of a religious oligarchy allowing daily bread only on clerical and religious considerations is preposterous, even were the funds adequate to meet the exigencies of the people.

But when the funds are not sufficient, the difficulty is enhanced, and there is no hope for a large community of paupers, till they can depend upon their own right hands and leave Rabbinical debts and privileges to take care of themselves. According to common calculation, the change which should bring this to pass can only take place by slow degrees. But a time may come when suddenly

some sharp remedy will settle the matter, and the axe no longer lie unemployed at the root of the tree.

A meeting was held at the English Bishop's residence in October, by friends of religious missions, particularly those among Jews, for concerting means of establishing an Agricultural Institution for support of Christian Jews by their own labours. This praiseworthy design, borrowed from plans previously published by other parties, and already to some extent in operation, was afterwards carried into effect, and took the character of a 'Model Farm' at Jaffa, administered and worked solely among themselves by Christian Israelites. As such it existed, though feebly, for some years.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The leading Jews in Europe and in America have gradually become aware of the condition of their brethren in Palestine. They have at last fully recognised that education and industry can alone raise them from the condition of pauperism in which the present system has sunk them. Sir Moses Montefiore was one of the first to perceive this. The following extracts, from the 'Jewish Chronicle,' June 1, 1877, will show how much progress has been made in awakening the attention of Jews in various parts of the world to the necessity of taking steps to abolish mere distribution of charity, and to substitute for it well-organised Industrial, and above all Agricultural, Institutions.

'A report has just been published by the American Board of Delegates, the principal contents of which is the correspondence which has passed between the executive of the Board and the London Board of deputies, the Anglo-Jewish Association, the Alliance Israélite of Paris, the Israelitische Allianz of Vienna, and the Palestine Committee of Berlin, "in order to agree upon a plan of joint action for the mutual elevation and the moral

and intellectual improvement of the Israelites of Palestine." This correspondence originated in consequence of a series of resolutions being passed by the American Board to the effect that joint action was desirable, and opposition was expressed to the system of indiscriminate charity, which tends to "the demoralisation of the mass of the Jewish residents in the Holy Land." . . . The circular letter of the Board of Delegates elicited a reply from the Anglo-Jewish Association, expressing general approval of the resolutions adopted, and suggesting the formation of an American Jewish Association.

'The Secretary of the Sir Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund writes: "If you will kindly refer to the appeal published by this committee, you will find that your views have been for the most part anticipated, and that the committee are wholly in accord with you as regards the danger of fostering indolence in the Holy Land, and that, in fact, they have declared that no portion of the fund shall be applied in mere charity or alms-giving." The Secretary invites the Board to enlist the active co-operation of the American Israelites in support of the Testimonial Fund.

'The Central Committee of the Paris Alliance expresses general approval of the resolution, and adds, "Some, and you are with us among this number, believe that there is no effective remedy for the condition of our brethren in the Holy Land other than in the slow but sure action of education and habitual manual labour. They prefer therefore that the young men should devote themselves to agriculture or other trades, which would enable them later to earn an honest livelihood. Others, not less impelled by good wishes, but having before them solely the spectacle of a poverty the causes of which are unknown to them, only concern themselves with satisfying the material wants of the present; and while their anxious solicitude is expressed by munificent charities which do them honour, these very charities have the grave defect of maintaining, if not of encouraging, among the Israelites of Palestine, deplorable habits and of keeping alive the evils from which they suffer instead of curing them . . . The reply from Professor Lazarus is a com-

prehensive, trenchant, plain-spoken review of the whole subject. He writes, "I am convinced that so long as collections are made throughout half the world for Palestine, and the money distributed in the present manner, so long will the cure of the profound moral and economical ills be rendered more difficult." . . . It will be seen from the foregoing summary of the correspondence that, without an exception, the most important Jewish organisations of the world unite in the expression of dissatisfaction with the system of the Chalûkah (alms-giving) at present unfortunately existing in Jerusalem, and all equally join in the opinion that effectual improvement is only to be looked for in joint action, in developing schemes for the encouragement of industrial pursuits, and the moral, social, and educational elevation of the people.'

But there is another almost insuperable difficulty in the way of any scheme whereby Jews in Europe might give agricultural employment to their poor brethren in Palestine. The pious Jews will not in any case join in anything which might seem like *taking* back the Land of Promise, of which God has for a time deprived them.

They quote Lev. xxv. 23, 'The land is mine; it shall not be sold for ever;' and fear that they should be guilty of sacrilege in encouraging the purchase of even part of the Holy Land.

CHAPTER XXI.

JERUSALEM LITERARY SOCIETY AND JERUSALEM ENGLISH COLLEGE.

First suggestion for founding a Literary Association and Library made in 1846—Literary Society founded at the British Consulate, November 1849—Approved by Lord Aberdeen, Vice-Patron—The Archbishop of Canterbury (Howley), Patron—The Prince Consort gives 25*l.*—The King of Prussia gives permission for free use of the Royal Library about to be established in Jerusalem—Weekly meetings held—Library and Museum begun—Assyrian Antiquities sent by Layard—Samaritan MS. bought for the Library—Objects of the Society—Study of Bible manners and customs—Ancient Languages—Numismatics, Geology, and Natural History—Ancient Religions—Architecture—Painting—Sculpture—Music—Exhibition of Palestine coins—Topographical research—Excavations—Botanical Garden—Biblical Museum of Natural History—Attendance of distinguished travellers—Residence of Holman Hunt and Seddon—Foundation of the College—useful for natives, Europeans, young clergy and students of all nations—begun, April 1854—Rev. J. W. Beamont, M.A., Trin. Coll., Camb., First Principal—Students—Lectures—Failure of Funds in 1855—Appendix—Address of Literary Society's President in 1853—Discovery of Ashes of the Temple Sacrifices—Liebig's Analysis—Mr. Dickson's letter—Mr. Finn's discoveries of Almon, Antipatris, Sychar, &c. &c.

THIS work, not being intended for a mere recital of the transactions of the Russian War or of the events connected with it, but rather to give a picture and description of Jerusalem and Palestine during the Crimean War, may fairly comprise a diversity of matters illustrative of the country and of the persons residing within it.

Among those matters which bear upon the social life of Europeans may be introduced a mention of the Jerusalem Literary Society.

Within the first month of my arrival in the Holy Land in 1846, I had proposed the formation of some kind of a Literary Association among our immediate circle, seeing that, apart from purely religious considerations, we were living in a city and country abounding in historical memorials, and diversified aspects of human nature, all of very great importance. Besides this, we had opportunities of hearing or speaking Oriental languages every day and all day long, if we chose. And it seemed that whereas little had been as yet discovered for elucidation of the theories suggested on the main points of topographical interest (the 'Biblical Researches' of Robinson, and the first edition of Williams's 'Holy City,' were then the only works of importance in these matters), it would be well to take note of and to make record of such distinct facts as might come to light in reference to the archæology, the botany, natural history, and meteorology of the climate.

It seemed, moreover, that it might be highly advantageous to collect a permanent Library for the use of students, or for constituting a place of reunion for strangers visiting Jerusalem.

At that time (1846), no one of us conceived the idea of a Palestine Exploration Fund.

The scheme was first suggested (by the author) to the then physician of the Jewish Mission. Bishop Alexander had died shortly before, his successor had not yet been nominated, and there was, therefore, at this time no English Bishop in Jerusalem.

Dr. E. Macgowan, being himself a graduate of Cambridge University and in receipt of an annual grant (of,

I believe, £40) from his London committee for conducting a botanical garden (although no result of it appeared), might be reasonably expected to second the project.

Nothing, however, was done, for above three years; when near the end of 1849 the thing was started in my house, by a small party of seven persons, six of whom were English residents in Jerusalem, but only one of whom was attached to the Missionary Society.

Thus was commenced the 'Literary Society of Jerusalem,' having for its fundamental rule, that 'the object of this Society is the investigation and elucidation of any subject of interest, literary or scientific, of any period whatever, within the Holy Land, *i.e.* within the territorial limits of the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, and of the Nile to the Orontes.'

After a time, Bishop Gobat and the Earl of Aberdeen became Vice-Patrons, and his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury (Howley) became Patron.

The Prince Consort manifested his approval of the effort, by sending a handsome donation to the library fund; and the King of Prussia directed that members of the Jerusalem Literary Society should have free use of the Royal Library, about to be established, connected with the Prussian Hospice and Consulate. Members joined the Society as the matter became known. Weekly meetings were held at the British Consulate during several months of each year, generally throughout the winter, and minutes of proceedings were duly kept. Papers were read, and conversations held on various topics connected with the subjects before us.

Antiquities and specimens in botany and natural history were collected for a museum, which was set on foot. Books were given towards the formation of a library.

Learned foreigners in Europe consented to become corresponding members. Numerous friends in England and Germany contributed books to the library and objects for a general museum; besides those collected by ourselves from sundry parts of the country, or contributed by travellers from Egypt and elsewhere, or by Layard from Assyria (the latter were of very great value), for a special Biblical and Historical Museum connected with the Holy Land. One or two volumes of ancient Samaritan MS. were received for the Jerusalem library, and some were also obtained for the British Museum library and sent to England.

The objects set before the Jerusalem Literary Society were vast, but in the words of the author spoken in 1850, when as, President of the Society, he addressed the members at the opening meeting for that year, 'of ourselves, we do not profess to carry out fully the investigation of all subjects of literary or scientific interest in the Holy Land. We should not do so were our members more numerous and our leisure greater than at present allowed us, for we all have our several occupations in life to fulfil, and we are not the people to enjoy the luxuries of a learned leisure. But still I hope to show (if at all necessary to do so) that our Society need make no retrograde movement on that account. We have such peculiar advantages surrounding us, that it is possible for active minds, in small snatches of time, to do more for promoting the

objects we have in view than a much greater amount of labour can effect in countries where such facilities are not afforded. And the busiest among us are likely to be the most aware of the benefit to be derived from alternation of employment . . . from using to advantage the small scraps of precious time.' Some of the particular classes of subjects which belonged legitimately to our field of research, were set before the meeting in the following sentences:—

I. In the elucidation of Biblical manners and customs, we have in our daily walks and rides, or even domestic scenes, the advantage of comparing actual life with Holy Scripture, more certainly than can be learned in Europe from such books as those of Burder and Harmer, where the habits of Jews in Palestine are explained by customs of Egypt, Morocco, Persia, China, India, and the South Sea Islands.

II. Those of us devoted to the study of ancient Oriental languages in connexion with the Bible will find within its pages not only the regular Hebrew, Chaldee, and Greek, but remnants of ancient Egyptian words, traces of Canaanitish local denomination (which still subsist in use to our days), fragments of Samaritan formation of names, as well as of the language now become peculiarly interesting from finding the same in arrow-headed characters of writing among the excavations of Nineveh; quotations of vernacular Syriac in the New Testament, and the use of Latin words in the Greek Gospels which serve to demonstrate the only period at which the Gospels could have been written.

III. Numismatics may afford a special and pleasing

field for observation, which, far from deserving contempt as the science of rusty farthings, has this to boast, that the documents it has to deal with, as far as their information extends, are far more to be depended on than books, for they are liable to no errors of copyists or printers; a fact or date once recorded upon coins or medals is stamped beyond recall . . . For instance, a peasant brings to the collector a handful of obsolete coins; these, on being examined and sorted, are found to be Hebrew, Cufic, Byzantine, Phœnician, Roman, Venetian, and Greek, in return for which the barter or price is a coin of the Turks. But what a history is here presented of the country where all these could be found together, having been overrun by victorious armies of Ptolemies, Cæsars, Crusaders, and Osmanlis . . . those conquests not effected but by incalculable human massacre and immeasurable human suffering, yet attesting the high value set upon that country where we now dwell by the greatest nations in the world. In illustration of the Bible, the Macedonian coins which bear the title *Εὐεργέτης* will explain why in Luke xxii. 25 it is affirmed that the Gentiles designate their kings as 'benefactors;' the uplifted horn of the 'Bedn' or Ibex (an animal native of Syria) on the helmet of Tryphon, or the ram's horn of Alexander, adopted by his successors, will give an illustration of the metaphor so frequently used in Scripture, of 'setting up the horn on high.' And allow me to add, in defiance of Pinkerton, that it should be made a special object for us to aim at the collection of as many varieties of indubitable Hebrew coinage as possible.

IV. Then the Christian philosopher of nature may dis-

course among us, as well as others elsewhere, upon primitive formation, basalt, trap, or marl, and provide information of great interest to our Association. But as he surveys the profound crevasses and the distorted strata of the country, he may probably also feel how much of the stern scenery has contributed to the bold and grave tone of mind, acted upon by Divine inspiration, in the denunciations of the holy Prophets; just as recent travellers assure us that in the barren wilderness about the Dead Sea every bird, quadruped, and reptile partakes more or less of the colour of the rocks around.

The great and terrible wilderness where the meekest of men led a nation about for forty years—the volcanic features of the sea of Lot[1]—the gentle lake of Tiberias—the impetuous Jordan, the expanse of the long sea beach in the west—all speak of the Bible as well as of nature. And the same harmony exists in the provinces of zoology or botany.

V. Moreover the political economist may ponder on the peculiar territory in which it pleased God to place His peculiar people, with its great diversity of climate and capabilities, just at the point where Europe, Asia, and Africa come together—the keystone of the three continents confined between a sea and a vast desert, without a navigable river; and though its sea-ports were undoubtedly more serviceable formerly than at present, they were never sufficient to form a mercantile nation from the inhabitants.

A fertile topic of meditation may also be found in the steady progress of decay in the population and industry through successive centuries, as well as in whatever pros-

[1] There is no volcanic crater in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea.

pects may occasionally rise offering any probability of amelioration; to which he may add (according to his convictions), the hopes held out in unfulfilled Prophecy.

Besides the above subjects, which bear so directly on the Holy Scripture, there are two remarkable topics protruding above the general surface of history since the period of the establishment of Christianity, and the dispersion of the Jewish people. I mean—

1. The Mohammedan religion, which in this country is not a mere theme for poetry or scholastic discussion, but is a living reality. We *see* the green turban, we *hear* the Moeddin, we *look* on the Crescent of the flag upon the castle before these windows, and even the great cupola at the opposite extremity of the city [the Dome of the Rock].

Public documents too, and the current coin are dated from the Flight of Mohammed out of Mecca. . . .

2. The Crusades and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. The history of this kingdom deserves very serious attention, as well in the principles and motives from which it originated, as in its shattered and brief continuance and in its instructive wreck.

Of scarcely less importance in the consideration of the interests of mankind are these two institutions, rising originally out of the Land of Palestine, and still clinging to it with especial tenacity:

1. The Rabbinism of the Jews.

2. The Eremite and Cœnobite, or Hermit and Conventual, principles.

Permit me to mention one subject more, that may be properly brought within our province, viz., that of the

Fine Arts :—Architecture, Painting, Sculpture, and Music, and these may be divided into sections or periods :—

1. Hebraic. 2. Grecian, under the Ptolemies and the Herod family. 3. Mohammedan, from the middle of our seventh century till the present day.

Music, too, and Poetry have reached their highest extension within this city. Certainly no heathen idolatry has ever been found to institute and continue such a costly and elaborate worship by means of music as the Hebrew Temple used to supply. And Hebrew poetic feeling was not limited to the writers of the inspired hymns and prophecies now in our possession, for David, Isaiah, and Jeremiah did not invent, but used, under Divine inspiration, the rules of art already existing.

Have not all of us observed the costumes of Bethlehem peasantry—both male and female—with simple masses of red and blue colour? How exactly they accord with the paintings of the old Italian masters! One might imagine that Correggio and Raffaelle drew and coloured from dresses of the groups or individual persons that we meet any day upon the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, persons whom we might address by name. This seems to be only accounted for on the supposition that coloured sketches were forwarded or carried to Italy by monks or pilgrims on their return to Europe.

The President, in referring to the study of Numismatics, as one of those which ought to occupy the attention of a literary Society in Jerusalem, had the pleasure of knowing that one of our members, the Rev. H. C. Reinhardt, was pursuing that study with rare success. At the meeting held on Feb. 9, 1854, he exhibited one of

the finest collections of Palestine coins perhaps in existence in the world, all gathered in the country. It included Hebrew coins of the Maccabees; those of Alexander Jannæus; of the Persian and Greek Monarchies; of the Roman Empire, of Herod the Tetrarch, and Herod Agrippa. And there were in it specimens of the coinage of Jerusalem, Tiberias, Cæsarea, Nabloos, Sepphoris, Ashkelon, &c., and besides these, Cufic, Arabian, Crusading, Egyptian and Turkish coins.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The President of the Jerusalem Literary Society lost no opportunity of impressing upon the members, and upon travellers who visited the Holy Land, the necessity for more exact topographical research, and for excavations. He had himself been the first to discover and indicate in 1849 the ancient Antipatris at Ras el Ain, as well as many other ancient sites. (See Transactions for 1849–50 of the Jerusalem Literary Society. All the arguments since used by Major Wilson in the Records of the Palestine Exploration Fund are there set forth by Mr. Finn in 1849, to prove the identity of the site.)

In 1851 he reminded the members that 'we have not as yet even commenced *the exact geographical survey of Palestine*, which we consider so desirable. We have as yet *cut into no tumuli* on the plain of the Jordan, in search of Canaanitish or Philistian vestiges of art. . . . But . . . . we have indicated the sites of some celebrated places long lost from European knowledge, as Almon of Joshua xxi. 18 (or Alemeth of 1 Chron. vi. 60); Elah of 1 Sam. xvii. 2; Adasa of 1 Maccabees vii. 40, and Beth Sura with Beth Zacharias of 1 Macc. vi.' (all discovered and identified by the author himself). He also urged the forming 'at Jerusalem of a depôt of plain but good geodetical and astronomical instruments' . . . as also of 'meteorological instruments for taking simultaneous observations by the corresponding members at various points of

this exceedingly diversified country . . . . and also that magnetic observations should be taken.' And he asked for aid in establishing a specially Biblical Museum of Natural History, and an Experimental and Botanical Garden.

There were about thirty adult English (besides children) at this time resident in Jerusalem, and a still larger number of naturalised English and Germans, Syrians and Hebrew Christians, who understood, spoke, and read English well.

The meetings of the Literary Society were attended by some of all these, as well as by passing travellers or temporary residents from all countries, some of whom were scholars of world-wide reputation, such as Dr. Robinson of the United States—the great pioneer in Palestine exploration; Dr. Roth of Munich, Dr. Petermann, and others.

We were gratified by the arrival from England of two artists of note, namely Mr. W. Holman Hunt and Mr. Seddon, who came to reside in the Holy City in order to study Bible scenes and Eastern customs.

The latter (Mr. Seddon) pitched a tent among the pomegranate trees above Aceldama, and his picture of 'Olivet and Siloam,' now in the South Kensington Museum gallery, was taken from that spot. He died soon afterwards in Egypt.

The former (Mr. Holman Hunt) resided in Jerusalem, working diligently at his 'Finding of Christ in the Temple.' He had intended to get Jewish portraits in Jerusalem for this picture, and some excellent Jewish portraits were obtained (of course at a high price) for all but the two principal figures.

In regard to those there were unexpected difficulties. The Jews of Jerusalem are specially susceptible in religious matters, and they got the idea that the picture was destined to be put up in a church and worshipped—at least that the representation of Jesus Himself would be worshipped, and they refused to countenance so great a sin by allowing their own portraits to appear. Neither could a woman's portrait be secured to represent the Virgin-Mother for any consideration. And the aversion to allowing portraits to be taken did not wear off with the lapse of time among those by whom the aversion was most strongly felt; but I believe quite the contrary.

Mr. Hunt had also begun his great picture of 'The Scapegoat in the Wilderness.' A suitably wretched starved goat was found, and its likeness was taken; but to obtain the true colouring of the Moab mountains by sunset, at the right time of the year for the Day of Atonement, which is also the best time of the year for the gorgeous tints of the mountains, Hunt undertook the venture of residing for about a fortnight in the most desolate of places near the south end of the Dead Sea, at an unhealthy season, and attended only by a dragoman, and one Arab guide, or sometimes two. Admirable courage and love of his art!

Holman Hunt was the first painter who ventured to depict the true colours of the Moab mountains. To us living in Jerusalem, who had longed year by year to see those marvellous tints and gorgeous contrasts transferred to canvas, it was an exceeding delight when that painting

stood before us in its glory, and in its wonderful fidelity to nature.

During this year, 1854, and part of 1855, we had in connection with the Literary Society an institution at work in Jerusalem without ostentation and with very little funds. In fact, an attempt was made on the grain-of-mustard-seed principle to supply a need which had long been felt.

This institution was intended as the beginning of an English College and High School, which would in no way interfere with the Bishop's elementary schools. The idea of founding a college in Jerusalem had been conceived more than twenty years before by persons who foresaw that Jerusalem was beginning to emerge from the obscurity of ages, and who could appreciate the advantages which this city possesses over other places, fitting it to become a great educational centre. There was and still is, all over the East, a thirst for education, and Orientals of all classes would eagerly avail themselves of the benefits of such an institution.

A traveller in Palestine in 1853, who had observed the want of facilities for higher education, offered the first donation of 30*l.* as commencement of the college fund. A scheme was drawn up which it was hoped might be gradually worked out.

The Bishop accepted the office of visitor. The idea was that, if the design prospered, the undertaking would, according to its title, divide itself into two parts—the one, without being in any sense a theological college, might prove a useful auxiliary to missionary enterprise. The plan was to offer facilities for persons who might desire

instruction in any branch of learning, according to their own free choice without any restriction whatever.

The high school was designed to provide good education not only for native children of all nationalities, but also for families residing in the Levant, or even in India, at a cheaper rate, and nearer at hand to the parents than could be obtained by sending the boys to England. Thus would be secured also the advantage of daily vernacular conversation in Oriental languages. Parents from India could visit their children without incurring the forfeiture (according to existing regulations) of their half-pay, which they would lose by crossing over into Europe.

The English had been the first in our own times to perceive the importance of giving education to those who wished for it, and Bishop Alexander had commenced schools which were revived and extended by his successor.

Then followed schools established by Latins, Greeks, and Armenians; but they went further and also established seminaries or colleges for older pupils. In 1853 the Latin Seminary was carried on in Jerusalem, pending its removal by the Patriarch to Bait Jala.

There were at this time ninety scholars in the Greek day school for boys, and fifty youths in the college, carried on at the Convent of the Cross outside of Jerusalem.

The Armenians had their schools and college attached to the great Convent of St. James. The Jews had always had elementary schools for the study of Hebrew, and institutions for study of the Talmud and of Rabbinical literature.

Miss Cooper had founded a girls' school for the teach-

ing of Jewish children and for the training of older pupils. The Prussian deaconesses had a girls' school for children of all creeds. The Sisters of Charity of the order of St. Joseph had a school for girls, and the Sisters of Sion, 'Dames de Sion,' offered a higher education to children of all creeds.

But we had no college or upper school for boys and men, where pupils of all nations should be able to study any branch of knowledge of free choice.

Such a school and college in Jerusalem might be made the means of extensive usefulness in the Holy Land. As a merely educational establishment, the institution might, if properly conducted, take the first rank. Hebrew and Greek, Turkish and Arabic, Syriac, Abyssinian, Hindustani, Russian, German, French, Italian, Spanish and English (and other languages) are daily spoken in Jerusalem.

History ought surely to be very advantageously studied in a country whose past centuries have left so many indelible traces. Theology must needs be at home in the land where the dispensations of Moses, and of Christ, the Lord Himself, were first given to men; where the religion of the Koran is dominant; where most of the forms of heresy and error had their rise.

Other branches of science would have, at least, as much interest in Jerusalem as in Rome or Athens, in Egypt, France, England, or Germany.

In a missionary point of view, Jerusalem is unrivalled in the whole world, as a centre for the immense field within which may be reached Jews, Moslems, Arabs, Druzes, and other heathen Syrians, Persians, Turks and

Circassians, Tartars and Kurds, Negroes, Africans of many races, Abyssinians, Copts, Armenians, Chaldeans, Jacobite Syrians, besides the great representative churches and many remote peoples.

It is, moreover, difficult to over-estimate the advantages which young Englishmen, and especially young clergymen, might derive from a year or two's residence in the Holy City after leaving the University. Here they might study the Bible in its own land, where alone the force of the imagery, the illustrations, the thousand incidental allusions to topography, climate, and natural characteristics, can be understood in all their variety and fulness.

Where could Hebrew be so well studied as on Mount Zion, where the prayers of our own Church are daily offered in that holy tongue, and amongst the Jewish people, whose living language it still is? Where could the various aspects and branches of the Christian Church be so well understood as in the cradle of Christianity, where all the churches have their representative and distinct communities as in a common home?

Even in politics many a useful lesson may be learned in Jerusalem—the very centre and focus of the Eastern Question.

A beginning was at last made in 1854. The donation of 30*l.* mentioned above had been added to by a few small gifts, and just at this time the Rev. W. J. Beamont, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, came to Jerusalem in order to prosecute his Hebrew and Arabic studies. We were most fortunate in securing his assistance as principal of our infant college. He volunteered

to make the beginning of what he perceived might, and ought to, expand into a noble institution.

The college was opened in April, 1854. Pupils of the most diverse nations and habits of mind offered themselves —Jews, Syrians, a Maronite, a Greek deacon, Jewish Christians—speaking no one language well in common. These were to be moulded, trained, and taught by means of the hitherto unknown, or little known, English language. To a considerable extent success was attained, for both teacher and taught had their heart in the task, and both made use of various other languages, as necessity required, in order to make the meaning clear. German, Italian, and Arabic—all were used; but before the end of the first term, that was no longer necessary, and English alone was sufficient (except for an occasional word or phrase). Day by day did the zealous principal sit patiently at this difficult labour, not mindful of his own high university honours—the Chancellor's gold medal, the Senior Optimi degree, and rank in the Classical Tripos—dignities but little understood by most of our own community in Jerusalem, who, for lack of English, or any other, university training, could not comprehend their value.

Some of the students became inmates, at their earnest request, of the house hired for the college, and in which Mr. Beamont lived as principal; the rest were outdoor scholars.

The principal occasionally gave exegetical lectures on the Greek text of the New Testament, open to all comers. These were attended by several of the clergy and resident gentlemen of Jerusalem; and he did not disdain the humbler work of catechising the children of the European

families, for whose benefit he opened a Sunday class in his own rooms.

One young Jewish student offered himself, whose case was peculiar. He had been celebrated among his own people for his deep knowledge of the Talmud, but was now studying the doctrines of Christianity. He was entirely destitute.

It had been judged prudent not to hold out hopes of maintenance to students, there being no funds for the purpose, and it was feared that the idea of gratuitous support might tend to confirm the erroneous idea, prevalent among a certain class of Jews, that study was preferable to labour, even though it should involve a state of pauperism and dependence upon charity.

Our young candidate, however, was thoroughly in earnest, and determined to earn his own support. He actually learned to knead and bake the bread which was made for distribution to the poor famished Jews, and then went, 'half baked' himself from the oven, to attend the lectures of the principal of the college. His earnings just kept body and soul together. A friend gave him a coat, another allowed him shelter, but his only bed was the stone floor.

Another student, a Maronite from the Lebanon, earned his livelihood while attending the classes by teaching Arabic. One of the clergy gave him a few pence weekly as payment for his lessons to the gatekeeper of the English church premises—an Oriental Jew, of the African community, who could not read his Bible in any language but Hebrew, though Arabic was his mother tongue.

On August 19th I attended the closing lecture of the

first term before the summer vacation of two months. Among the visitors present were Mr. Seddon and Mr. Holman Hunt. The principal read Job xxxviii., and a prayer which he had composed for the occasion.

After the vacation the second term commenced.

Before the end of the year the English bishop sent a Greek monk, native of Thessaly, as student. It was curious to hear the young Jew previously mentioned reading Paley's 'Evidences,' and translating it word for word into German as he went on; and then shortly afterwards to overhear him giving the Greek his first lessons in English reading.

The Bishop also sent for English and Biblical instruction some young Germans whom he was preparing for missionary service in Abyssinia, and who proceeded to that country after some months. Clergymen visiting Jerusalem were sometimes present at the lectures.[1]

On April 7, 1855 (being the anniversary day of the opening), I attended an examination which the Principal held in public.

To our very great regret, other duties required that Mr. Beamont should now return to England. The state of our funds did not allow us to seek for the services of anyone to take his place, to whom a salary would be necessary; and people knew so little about the matter that no one offered to take the office of principal on the same terms as Mr. Beamont.

The Jerusalem English College was therefore necessarily suspended in 1855, after a brief but most interesting

[1] The President of the Literary Society also gave a series of elementary Astronomical Lectures.—Editor's Note.

experiment had shown us how valuable and necessary the institution was for many and various classes of people in the East.

So enthusiastic was Mr. Beamont in support of the college scheme, and so rejoiced that he had been associated with it, that afterwards, in 1861, when he published in London his Arabic Grammar (which was adopted as a University text-book), he designated himself on the title-page as 'Sometime Principal of the English College, Jerusalem.' He always cherished the hope that it would be revived under more favourable conditions.

Mr. Beamont was appointed after his return to England to St. Michael's Church, Cambridge. He died there after several years of indefatigable work, and was interred with honour in the ante-chapel of his college, being followed by the affectionate regret of the chief men of the whole University. In the house where this is written I have often seen one of his pupils, a Russian Jew, who is getting an independent livelihood, and is full of gratitude to his instructor in Jerusalem.

In conclusion of this humble tribute to Mr. Beamont's memory, I should add that on Christmas-day, 1854, he preached in Arabic to the congregation of native Protestants in Bethlehem. He was the servant of no society, and of no committee. His labours in the East remain almost unknown, but 'his works do follow him.'

The value which is set upon European education by all classes of the inhabitants of Palestine is very great.

After the Jerusalem English College was suspended, there was nothing left in the country to supply its place, excepting the institutions of the Roman Catholics. In

'Domestic Life in Palestine,' Miss Rogers mentions that the Governor of Caifa, Saleh Bek, a Moslem of the powerful family of Abdu'l Hâdy (cousin of the then Governor of Nabloos), was so anxious to have his sons of fifteen and sixteen educated, that he was about to send them to the Latin College at Antûra, a French establishment not far from Bayroot: 'He said that if there had been an English college in the country, where as good an education could have been obtained, he should certainly have chosen it in preference.'

This was in 1856, the year after Mr. Beamont had left the country.

APPENDIX.

At the commencement of each annual season, as near as convenient to the foundation Anniversary Day, November 20, the President (myself) delivered an address to the members and visitors. Some friends in England printed for private circulation the first four of these in a small pamphlet.

The following is the one given of December 23, 1853 for the season 1853–4.

Opening address of the President of the Jerusalem Literary Society, December 23, 1853.

Another year has passed away, and a new period is opening upon us for investigation and elucidation of objects of a literary and scientific nature connected with the Holy Land. And the numerous assemblage before me (perhaps more numerous than were collected before on such an occasion in Jerusalem), is a gratifying proof of the goodwill entertained towards the Jerusalem Literary Society.

True, it is not possible for all to be considered members in the strict sense of the word, but all feel an interest in the object of the meeting, and this is not a matter of surprise, for

the position we hold is one of peculiar regard, and believed to be so by those at a distance, for our ranks comprise names of no mean estimation. Consider for a moment who are the two official Patrons of this Society, and then let us strive to fulfil the expectations which such eminent men may have been led to form respecting us. Consider again who are our Foreign corresponding members: these are men justly held high in public esteem, and dispersed over far sundered regions of the globe. We have Schubert, Fleischer, Robinson, Wilson of Bombay, Wilde of Dublin, Marsh and Perkins of the far East, looking to us, and each expressing his peculiar satisfaction in belonging to such an Institution at Jerusalem—at Jerusalem, whose very name is 'still a watchword in the earth,' a city whose rank is not to be estimated by its present political condition, rising as that condition is, nor by its produce and trade, though both are on the increase: nor by the dissensions of its inhabitants, although these are found capable of enlisting the mightiest empires of the world as their partizans, nor by any other considerations than such as are founded on the dearest recollections of Christianity, the regeneration of the human race, and the triumphs of all that is great and good in futurity.

This Jerusalem is rising from the dust and oppression of many centuries into actual life: not merely brought into notice like the heaps of Nineveh, which are now sending their exhumed fragments abroad as mere testimonials of the past; but resuscitated after the Pharaonic cities of Egypt are more and deeper buried in accumulation of desert sand: nay, after the very ruins of Persepolis are engulfed by an earthquake, the sun is rising again upon Jerusalem! I refer not now to religious considerations, but to such general circumstances as would lead us to say of any other place in the world that it is making advances in civilisation and wealth.

There are persons here present who recollect the ground on which we are assembled as having been the most desolate quarter of the city, occupied by broken hovels which were tenanted by a few persons, and those of the most depraved character to be met with in Jerusalem. See it now with the

Institutions which are clustered upon it, all tending to human improvement and security. See similar Institutions rising around us among all classes of Christian inhabitants; hear how all Europe now speaks of Jerusalem, and we shall no longer say of it:—'This is Zion whom no man seeketh after.'

Of the various indications of such advancement mentioned at our last anniversary meeting, not one has taken a step backward: the Latin and Armenian presses are still at work even more vigorously than before; the Greek press was only brought to work at Easter last, but we have this day paid a visit to its establishment, and have been surprised at the large scale, superior machinery, and clever workmen, with which it is conducted, under the direction of John Lazarides from Constantinople. The Arabic press there was working off rapidly the Psalms of David; the Onomasticon of Eusebius is about to be undertaken shortly; and a compilation on the topography of Jerusalem from the best modern travellers, rendered into good modern Greek by the Didaskalos of the Theological Seminary, is said to be ready for the press.[1]

Looking at such progress I feel constrained to advise all of us in our several pursuits, and not least of all, the Literary Society of Jerusalem, that we should hold on our course steadily, and then, come what may (for there may be political vicissitudes before us), we shall be at our post ready to make use of any fresh advantages that may be thrown open before us.

We have already on former occasions pointed out in something like detail the lines of pursuit which are properly the objects for our attention, and shown that besides the intellectual pleasure of adding to the common stock of knowledge of mankind in such ways as may be followed in other countries, the historic records, the numismatics, the geology, the botany, the

[1] Since the commencement of the work they have printed two thousand sheets of the Acts of the Apostles in Arabic, three thousand sheets of the Psalms in Arabic, one thousand sheets of a Greek grammar, two thousand five hundred of a Greek syntax, and thirty-four thousand five hundred of a Greek Psalter, which is not completed, waiting for paper from London (1853).

ancient languages, the fragments of architecture, nay, the very climate and meteorology of Palestine may be studied in close connection with Divine Revelation; how religious and political developments and the most energetic and durable institutions of mankind have sprung out of this country and its adjacencies, such as the Sinaitic revelation, the Mohammedan imposture, the Rabbinical monstrosities, the Hermit and Convent systems, besides that latest of divine revelations which surpasses all other considerations, and is now extending itself over the world, wherever ignorance requires a guide, or human sorrow requires a comforter. Now all these are linked, bound, and centred upon this region, which by adoption we have at present the high privilege to designate as our home.

We have too in Jerusalem an unequalled field for languages. Venice and Constantinople may possibly produce as great a diversity of tongues in the places of public resort, but certainly not the depth of tone and historical value attached to those of Jerusalem.

If it be true, as I believe it is, that the broadest divisions of language took place in the most distant eras, and that minor changes into dialects have been made within the range of recorded history, while in our day no new languages or dialects are created, then, into what antiquity must we not ascend for uniting into one common original the language of our Usbeg Convent, near the Seraglio, with the Biblical Hebrew of the Jewish quarter—the Hindustani of the pilgrim house on Acra, with the Bedawi Arabic at our gates, the Armenian, the Latin and the Greek of the Christian convents; with the Russian, Circassian, Kamschatdale of occasional pilgrims! These two are somewhat ludicrously contrasted with the most petty and most recent of European dialects with which they are here daily jumbled.

This combination of intensity with meanness, and of dignity with frivolity, throws the mind into something like the extravagancies existing in Rabbinical literature, which with the most audacious freedom oversteps all geography and chronology and sets them both at defiance.

There is a peculiar charm in the East which is found attractive to a great diversity of mental qualities, but to none more than to the humblest students of Holy Scripture, who from its pages become familiarised with its Oriental customs and parabolic modes of speech. The great novelist of Scotland has in several instances remarked the Eastern expressions and feelings of the simple Bible-reading peasantry of his country. A similar remarkable example of this is to be found in the fact of the tinker (I might more properly say the Baptist preacher) of Bedford having been able to produce so Oriental a book as the 'Pilgrim's Progress;'—to appreciate the merits of which, when out of its racy mother tongue, it should be read in either Arabic or Hebrew. The opening paragraph of Lamartine's 'Voyage en Orient' is to the same effect, describing the influence of maternal teaching and of the Bible in early youth in predisposing the taste and inclination to his after travels in the Holy Land.

Having such topics spread before us, as I have already enumerated, we are pleased when other literary societies fulfil their appointed tasks by excavating altars of heathenism at Athens or Corinth, and in measuring the proportional diameters of Doric columns, or elsewhere by reading hieroglyphics with the cursive character; exhuming the signet ring of Rameses or Sesostris, and exploring the site of the Ptolemæan library; or in lands more remote by researches into the mythology of hideous idols and the decline of civilisation visible in the descending gradation of Bactrian and Macedonian coins found in Tartary and Trans-Gangetic India—these are their legitimate and profitable objects for enlarging the bounds of human experience and information.

We should also be glad to be enabled to excavate the Isthmus of Tyre and to dissect the tumuli along the plains of the Jordan, and should feel much interest in any discoveries respecting the worship of Baal Astarte, or even Dagon, if such occurred; but then, beyond these we have higher aims to pursue: our antiquities are connected with the mental and moral condition of mankind 'near and far off,' past, present, and future.

I have heard some travellers say that they preferred the contemplation of solid objects, such as pyramids and columns, to the mere abstraction of being placed on the summit of a low hill, where perhaps scarcely a vestige remains of even modern habitation, and being told to believe that such a site, the mere 'nominis umbra,' is Shiloh, Dothan, or the rock Rimmon. These however are not my feelings, for these are realities independent of cornices or inscriptions; demonstrable even after these are reduced to the merest dust. No such tokens are required to point out to me the path over which David walked barefoot, exclaiming, 'O Absalom, my son, my son!' I stand too on the banks of the Jordan and require no monumental evidence of the occurrences which it has witnessed, for their vouchers are recorded not on the spot, but over latitudes and longitudes, and among languages just reclaimed from barbarism; they are perused in Tahiti and in Labrador, where rising generations are learning to sing of Him who sanctified that stream by His baptism, aye and in China too, where an Empire is casting its idols into the Yellow River in such numbers as to impede the progress of British ships upon the stream. On Jordan's banks the mind is dilated till it feels the events of Biblical history which, like the current itself—

'Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum'

—yet with this difference most deserving of attention that the everlasting Gospel rolls forward into no bitter water or hazy atmosphere of a Dead Sea, but into sunlit realms of blessedness and glory.

In this way the literature and antiquity of the Holy Land are inseparable from religion, unless by force of unnatural and perceptible violence. Without the Bible, the Jordan is but a stream unfit for navigation. Tabor is a round topped hill of so many ascertained feet in height; and Bethlehem but a pleasant village in the south of Palestine. Yet with the Bible how great and how significant do those localities become! How warmly do we feel in the inmost core of the heart as we approach to Bethlehem, the birth-place of the Messiah, the city of Ruth, Obed

and David, and of which we read in after ages, now past to us, of ploughmen singing Hallelujahs, and of reapers and vine-gatherers echoing to each other the Psalms of David at their labours.

It is now time for us to review some of our transactions during the past year, and make some remarks on our present position. Compared with the variety and value of topics belonging to the enquiries proper to this institution, it may perhaps be said that the results as yet produced are not so remarkable as might be desired—as might be desired, is true, as might be expected, is another consideration; for I believe they have equalled those of similar institutions in neighbouring countries, as for example the two in Egypt, where far greater encouragement has been given and far greater publicity obtained. We are thrown mostly on our own resources, especially of late, and several circumstances have occurred to us less favourable than could have been foreseen. Yet in the end these circumstances may turn to our advantage, and even had we a winter of adversity to encounter, which as yet we have not, that very vicissitude might be expected from all the analogies of nature, to strengthen and multiply the produce of a future spring and summer, but here we are still upon our territory, with vigilance and industry in our temperament to conduct us forward.

In April last, three of our members attended the Passover Sacrifice of the Samaritans on Mount Gerizim, by invitation of the Priest of that sect, and the spectacle has been described at our meetings as one of indelible interest: it was the only opportunity of the kind presented to Europeans since the very earliest ages of Christianity.

Since that period we have lost our secretary, who is removed to a residence at Caiffa, and the librarian, who has returned to his home in Sweden, but we have gained an additional member in Dr. Rosen, the Prussian Consul, of whom I may mention, in his absence, that his knowledge of Asiatic languages is likely to prove highly advantageous to the interests of our Society.

Our Library is the principal object of attention to strangers arriving from Europe; its volumes have not been much augmented in number, but a double catalogue of them was completed by Dr. Estenberg before his departure.

The lending of books to members has continued without interruption, and has been, we may hope, of considerable utility, ours being the only library in Jerusalem which allows of lending to persons at home. The Greek and Latin Convents permit no books to go abroad, even to students among their own special communities; the Jewish libraries are necessarily restricted to their own people; and Moslem families, many of whom possess valuable collections of Arabic works, never lend them out of their own houses. Travellers are also found to express much gratification in inspecting the geological specimens of Palestine in our museum, imperfect and incomplete as it is.

We had cherished considerable expectations from the donation of Dr. Roth of Munich, who had promised to bestow on us a complete collection of minerals, fossils, and molluscs, arranged and classified for our purpose, the duplicates of those collected for the public museum of Munich; but have to lament the intelligence of considerable damage which his stores have sustained during the sea passage homewards.

We hope however to find him again among us in the coming spring, with increased means of employment for his rare talents upon objects so especially consonant with ours.

The Bengal Asiatic Society has kindly promised to furnish us with its publications in return for whatever we may be able to transmit to Calcutta.

The few scientific instruments lying before us will, I hope, conduce to more accurate investigations than we have yet been able to obtain. They consist of an aneroid barometer, a microscope of the magnifying power of 484 times, Dupuis' measurer, and the latest improvement in self-registering adjuncts which was used by Lieut. C. W. M. Vandevelde in this country in the spring of 1852.

A good thermometer has been received as a donation from London.

One novel feature has characterised our proceedings during the past year, that of our having been favoured with considerable assistance from German persons and in the German language. Not only has the Prussian Consul become our associate as well as Professors Schubert and Fleischer of Munich and Leipzig respectively, who have each addressed us in gratifying terms: but we have had the presence of Professors Roth and Peterman at our meetings, and one of our resident members has read us two papers in German on the topography of Jerusalem.

Indeed it affords us much pleasure to reflect on the diversity of nationalities which may always meet here on our general basis; besides all the foreign corresponding members, we have been able to reckon among our associates and occasional visitors persons from Switzerland, Prussia, Holland, Bavaria, Denmark, Sweden, Hanover, the United States, and Syria itself.

Among our other objects of attention there is one in which we hope to become hereafter especially useful: I mean the correction of false impressions and reasonings of others. It is lamentable to observe what ignorance and what presumption are usually brought to bear upon the subjects of Palestine interest, and how frequently on this, as well as on other matters, it is pathetically true of man, frail man, that he is ever

'Most ignorant of what he is most assured.'

We can always afford to smile at the many books written from a two days' or a few hours' residence in Jerusalem, but we expect better things from the critical publications which volunteer to guide public opinion, such as the 'Athenæum,' which, when reviewing 'Lynch's Expedition to the Jordan and Dead Sea,' flippantly pronounced that Palestine had already been so much ransacked that nothing remained to be discovered; but I think I may say of every person here assembled, most of whom have been for some years resident in the Holy Land, that we are frequently found exclaiming to each other, 'How little has this country been as yet examined!'

In this as well as other matters, were our condition as efficient as it should be, we might become useful referees for others, and the facts which we could describe would have more weight than the crude opinion of those who have not the advantages which are necessarily within our reach.

In conclusion it may be observed that, although we have before said the East has a peculiar charm in itself of which even untutored minds are sensible, there is no range of human intellect so exalted as to become indifferent to Orientalism, especially to the Shemitic religions, languages, and stories of this Western frontier of Asia, although there are minds here to be found capable of intense abstraction, persons who voluntarily withdraw themselves from pursuits of taste, learning, and science for the promotion of other objects.

Some years since, being in the Monastery of Mount Carmel, and conversing with the President on the subject of a collection of books then arriving from Europe, I enquired whether the monks would be permitted to make use of the Library. The reply was frankly given, and one that seems consistent with the intention of that establishment, 'that it was not desirable to encourage the intrusion, into the mind of a recluse, of a crowd of external ideas however harmless these might be to other persons; lest by doing so the delicacy of spiritual susceptibilities might receive some injury.'

Now however much we may respect the conscience and religious pursuits of others, we are inclined to embrace opportunities of learning from the past and of exercising active beneficence, communicating openly to each other our admiration at the wisdom and goodness of God.

Some of us have from Mount Carmel surveyed the wide sea range (Ps. civ. 25) and the snowy head of Hermon, enjoying the colours and perspective as well as the recollections of Scripture history, and have there given God thanks. Some of us have, in years gone by, stood at the pedestal of Newton's statue in Cambridge, where the simple prism in his hand denotes the researches made into the regions and principles of light, and remembering the devoted character of the philosopher,

have there given God thanks. But adoration of the Creator is not limited to special classes or employments of mankind, we can all exclaim,

> 'These are Thy glorious works, Parent of Good!
> Thine this universal frame,
> Thus wondrous fair, Thyself how wondrous then
> Unspeakable, who sitt'st above these heavens,
> To us invisible, or dimly seen
> In these Thy lowest works—yet these declare
> Thy goodness beyond thought and power divine.'

Amos the prophet, the herdsman of Tekua, as well as Job the Idumæan, 'the greatest of all the men of the East,' could discourse of Arcturus, the Pleiades and Orion; and in such general terms are natural phenomena usually referred to in the Holy Scriptures, on purpose to be adapted to all capacities of mind, that it has been well observed by a living philosopher and divine (Whewell) that the Creator has not limited Himself to the expression of inductive processes, or of the discoveries made by human patience and skill. He did not proclaim in His revelation to man that He would give to water the property of refracting sundry colours of light at different angles of incidence, and this while suspended in drops in the air, as well as in other situations; or that a line of such refractions coinciding with the sun's depression or altitude should be curved, and the result be one of surpassing beauty till then unknown: such a fabrication might be regarded as a marvel of new creation, and the announcement beforehand, a wonder of condescension, but He rather adopted the simplest mode of utterance by saying, 'I do set my bow in the clouds,' and then it most of all concerns us to know that the results of creation are inseparable from His moral attributes, as the rainbow is connected with His pity and His faithfulness. The properties of the bow in its splendour are not yet exhausted by human investigation, and His attributes of mercy and constancy contain depths which may not be exhausted by contemplation or experience, but that Being who is the author of all creation and sustentation, of all order and beauty, of all perfection and amplitude, is also the moral

arbiter of His dependent creatures; and while adoring Him for His majesty and dominion, we may not, and we must not, forget our responsibility to Him also as the legislative centre of the universe.

Letter reprinted from the 'Athenæum,' No. 1,434, of April 21, 1855.

On the ashes near Jerusalem supposed to be those of the Ancient Jewish sacrifices.

Jerusalem, April 2, 1855.

Outside of this city, towards the north-west, and not far from the Nabloos road, and the Tombs of the Kings, so called, are some considerable heaps of blue grey ashes on which no grass or weeds ever grow. One of them may be 40 feet in height; they are remarkable objects in themselves, especially as contrasted in colour with the dark olive groves around them. These are commonly believed by the people of the city to be heaps of refuse from the soap-boilers' works of former times. Some of our English residents here having conceived a different idea of their origin, namely, that it was not impossible they should be ashes from the ancient sacrifices, begged of Dr. Roth, of Munich, when here in 1853, to carry away samples for analysis in Germany, which he did, and Dr. Sandreczki has now laid before the Literary Society of Jerusalem an account in English of a letter received from Dr. Roth on the subject. After some remarks on the beetles and mollusca which he collected in Palestine, and tendering generous offers of assistance, he proceeds thus: 'Hitherto it has been questionable whether the two ash hills, without the Damascus gate, have been heaped up from the ashes of the burnt sacrifices, or from the residuum of the produce of potash in the soap manufactories here. Dr. Roth, who had taken with him two samples, states that their analysis, in our famous Liebig's laboratory, bears evidence to the supposition that those ashes are the remnant of the *burnt sacrifices*, because they are *chiefly of animal*, and not of vegetable origin, and even contain small fragments of bones, and teeth

burnt to coal, and yet it would be impossible to ascertain the species of the animals to which they belonged.

The analysis exhibits a small percentage of *silicic acid* which is never found in the ashes of flesh or bones. Dr. Roth is of opinion that we may account for this circumstance by supposing that the ashes of the *meat offerings*, in which *silicium* may be found, were likewise carried off to the hills in question.

The samples were taken both from the top and the basis of the larger hill, not just from the surface, nor from a considerable depth either. Dr. Roth intends to send the whole account of that analysis, together with a new analysis of the mineral waters near Tiberias.

RESULT OF THE ANALYSIS.

	Ashes from the top.	Ashes from the base.
Soluble silicic acid . . .	1·212	1·421
Alkalis	1·150	0·820
Oxide of iron	0·762	0·875
Calcium	45·230	44·654
Magnesium	6·785	4·996
Residuum red-hot, but insoluble .	6·965	6·637
Carbonium	1·706	3·750
Phosphoric acid	0·716	0·849
Aluminum	3·750	2·866
Carbonic acid	30·610	32·540
	98·886	99·408
Loss	1·114	0·592
	100·000	100·000

This almost unexpected result is one that leads to important antiquarian consequences, not only exciting wonder at the confirmation of Holy Writ, and bringing our feelings back to immediate contact with those of the Aaronic Priesthood, but as helping among other facts to determine the course of the ancient walls, since these ashes must have been thrown beyond the walls.

Yours, etc.,

JAMES FINN.

Extract of a letter from the 'Athenæum,' No. 1436, of May 5, 1855.

While at Jerusalem some remarks of my friend, Mr. Calman, of the London Jews Society's Hospital there, in reference to the mounds to the west of the Damascus gate suggested the probability of the view referred to in Mr. Finn's letter. I proceeded in company with Mr. Calman carefully to examine the mounds, believing that if I were correct in supposing that they were the ashes of the ancient temple sacrifices, proof to that effect might probably be found.

Digging both at the top and near the base of the largest heap I was struck with the fact that the whole seemed homogeneous, there being no earth, stones, pottery, or rubbish of other kind, apparently mixed with the grey blue mould. This seemed unfavourable to the popular idea of their being formed from soap-boilers' ashes. Continuing to dig I was greatly interested soon to find among the ashes (which appeared to me *animal*, though I have never had them analysed) small portions of bone, still strengthening my belief that I was surrounded by the remains of the burnt offerings of Israel during a thousand years.

But the proof appeared to amount to demonstration when I discovered, a foot or more from the surface, fragments of bone sufficiently large to leave no doubt as to the kind of animal to which they belonged. I have in my possession a number of specimens, among which is one three inches long, evidently the leg bone of a sheep or lamb; another a fragment of the skull or nose bone; and two other fragments of ribs which it seems impossible to mistake for any other but the same animal. The first mentioned of these specimens has marks in some parts of having been charred or blackened by the action of fire. Since I returned from the East I have frequently, both privately and in public, mentioned the above circumstances and my intention to have the ashes analysed, that it might be ascertained whether they consisted chiefly of animal matter. Further enquiry on

this point is rendered unnecessary by the analysis of Dr. Roth as stated in the letter of Mr. Finn.

While upon the spot I was also struck with the light which the position of those mounds seemed to throw upon the vexed question of the ancient course of the city wall. It seemed to confirm the theory of Dr. Robinson that, instead of running considerably *within* the present city boundary, as it is contended for by those who maintain the authenticity of the so-called Holy Places, the ancient wall must have run considerably to the westward of the present Damascus gate, it being most probable that the ashes would be deposited *immediately* outside the wall, and not carried so far from it as the heaps are now found.

If these ideas be correct, do they not seem to throw light also upon an expression, to which I am not aware any definite meaning as to the locality has ever been attached in the boundaries of the city referred to in Jeremiah xxxi. 40 ? 'The valley of the dead bodies *and of the ashes*.' If by 'the valley of the dead bodies' is meant the valley of Hinnom, it seems likely, from the connection of the passage, that by the 'valley of the ashes' is meant the locality where the ashes are now found. It is not improbable that anciently, when the wall ran close by, there was a descent outside to the westward accounting for the expression *valley*, the hollow being now filled up or levelled by the accumulated rubbish of the city's 'long desolations.'

While I am glad that the attention of others has been directed to this interesting matter, I trust it may not seem uncalled for thus to advert to it, that I may not seem to be entering into other men's labours should I ever be able to publish notes of my journey.

I am, etc.,

WILLIAM DICKSON.

20, George Square, Edinburgh, April 24.

(Since the date of the above letter the analysis made in

Liebig's laboratory, in the fullest and most scientific detail, has been received by the Literary Society in Jerusalem).

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The Literary Society thus in a quiet way made preparation for the work afterwards undertaken by the Palestine Exploration Fund. It succeeded in awakening the attention of travellers to the many important subjects open to research in the Holy Land. Beginnings, though but small, were made in actual research. Mr. Finn himself discovered in 1849 Almon, Antipatris, Keilah, Elah, Sychar, and many other places, some of which have been re-discovered by Wilson, Conder, and other officers at work on the present explorations in Palestine. His discoveries were recorded at the time in the minutes of the Jerusalem Literary Society, and some description of them may also be found in his 'Bye-ways in Palestine.'[1]

[1] 'Bye-ways in Palestine,' by James Finn. Nisbet: London.

PART III.

FROM THE INVASION OF THE CRIMEA TO THE CONCLUSION OF PEACE

CHAPTER XXII.

NEWS FROM THE CRIMEA.

News of investment of Sebastopol—Russians not known hitherto to the Palestine Moslems—Christians excited—Rivalries between Greek and Latin Churches stirred afresh — Ideas of the Jews about Russian invasion—Meeting at Consulate for the Patriotic Fund—Jerusalem the central point of the Eastern Question, but no longer kept in view by the Combatants—Letter from Balaclava by a Chaplain in the British Army—Cossacks 'bons pour tuer les blessés'—Battle, 93rd Highlanders and charge of the Greys—The Charge of the Light Brigade mentioned—The one idea of the wounded, 'that they had done their duty'—The Russians in Asia—Fall of Kars—The Greek Christians loyal to the Sultan—They do not desire to be subject to Russia—Feelings of the Germans—Rumours—Sardinia joins the Alliance—Absence of British ships from coast of Palestine—Death of the Emperor Nicholas.

By the middle of October we heard of the investment of Sebastopol both by sea and land, also of the death of Marshal St. Arnaud.

This movement upon Russian territory, and that too upon the mighty fortress and garrison which immediately threatened Constantinople, partook so much of the true bull-dog character that it satisfied even the boldest minds among us. Few men among the Europeans but had some military opinion to propound, even among those whose nature induced them to regret that 'villainous saltpeter should be digg'd out of the bowels of the harmless earth,' and who believed that the sovereign'st thing on earth was 'parmaceti for an inward bruise;' all had something to say. Some there were of not exactly the same temperament as that just mentioned, who scienti-

fically calculated the great adventure as too rash to prove successful, the resources inadequate, and the coalition of the allies impossible to be maintained; this opinion, openly avowed among the Prussian adherents, bore fruit in the after-course of events.

The Moslem population, in utter ignorance of geography, and of European means at command, while confident in the sufficiency of their own personal valour, were still thankful to the French and English for saving them a great part of the expense and effort required for chastising the Russians—for here it may be remarked that the Russians were a people unknown to the Moslem and Arabic population. In Europe the Turks had been for ages in collision with the Russians, but all the warlike traditions of Syria connected with Europeans related to the French and English in conflict with Saladin or Buonaparte. The lapse of centuries does not tell much in the East, especially not in this land; the people judge of history rather by their own lasting impressions than by dates of chronology. In this way it is that our native neighbours were better acquainted with the battles of Yarmuk or of Hhattin, of Afooleh (Tabor), and the French siege of Acre (1799), than with the Treaty of Kainardji, which concerned only the Turks and 'yellow hair'd' Russians.

Thus within the walls of Jerusalem and among the Moslem fanatics anywhere, no apprehension of danger was felt, no misgivings as to the power of the Sultan to repel the Russian attack; public confidence in the safety of the Turkish Empire existed, only modified by natural craving for intelligence from the scene of action.

The Christian natives, on the other hand, were strangely excited. The question of the Sanctuaries in Jerusalem and Bethlehem had roused into full activity the ancient antagonism between Latin and Greek, Eastern and Western, and their respective adherents ; the fear had been revived that a mere war between one European nation and the Turks should develope into a Holy War, because that one European nation was Russia, whose projects were better understood in Jerusalem than in Europe. Keenest interest was stirred when the duel between Russia and Turkey developed into a contest between Latin Church and Greek Church—the one as the champion in defence of the Turks, whom the other had attacked, ostensibly for the sake of 'Christians in the East;' but, as all 'Christians in the Holy Land' knew full well, far more because through the Turks they might wound and overpower their rivals the Latins, and most especially the Latin secular power in the person of the Latin Champion, the French Emperor.

All this gave Christians the intensest interest in every rumour, all the more exciting, because vague, uncertain, contradictory of those that had gone before, and so long sometimes in reaching them that a crisis might be upon them before news could come to prepare them for what that crisis might be.

There was one people in Jerusalem more intimately acquainted with Russia and the Russians than any others. These were the Ashkenaz Jews, many of whom were natives of Russia and of Poland. These looked upon the Russian advance as one step nearer the fulfilment of the ancient prophecy, that Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal should

seek dominion in the Land of Promise, and the mastery over the People of Israel.

These Jews had most of them derived their only ideas of Christianity from such phases of it as had been manifested to them in Russia and in Poland, and who regarded the rule and oppression of Moslems, as liberty and life, compared with the bondage which their brethren in Russia were still enduring, and with the persecutions which were inflicted upon them in the name of Christ. These Jews knew something of the conflict waged in Poland between the Latin Church and their conquerors of the Russian Church. They knew that in France and in the Papal Dominions, as in Papal Poland formerly, they had enjoyed liberty and protection compared with the yoke at present laid upon their people by the Russians; and the Jews knew that Circassia formed still some kind of barrier between Russia and the Holy Land; and they, of all people in Jerusalem, knew best what was the nature of the struggle which had been going on for now more than thirty years, between the Russians on their eastward progress, and the gallant little Circassian people.

The Jews had sources of information that neither the native Christians nor the Moslems possessed, yet their information too was often at fault. Strange was the medley which reached us from all of these put together.

Within a few days of the close of the Christian year, a meeting of English subjects and 'protected' was convened at the Consulate by public notice, for collecting subscriptions in aid of the Patriotic Fund for relief of widows and orphans during the war.

A table was covered with the Union Jack—(for there

was of course no difficulty in the British flag being thus used inside the Consulate, though it might not be displayed outside)—the recommendation from our Government was read, speeches were made, the National Anthem sung, and 30*l.* collected—a sum which was really considerable, inasmuch as the majority of the persons present were employed in missionary, that is to say, charitable labours, aad who had made great sacrifices in the famine of last winter.

We were not aware, however, of the fearful sufferings endured at that very time by our brave army in the Crimea, attributable to want of organised management rather than to lack of means for their supply.

By this time, when the Crimea was actually occupied by the allied armies, it was remarked by us how utterly the Jerusalem origin of the Russian troubles was lost sight of in Europe.

It had gradually disappeared from view as the large events progressed, such as the war upon the Danube frontier, the preparation and march of European armies, the disaster of Sinopé, and the battle of Alma, each so important that the sequence of one upon another seemed to absorb the world's attention.

In Jerusalem it was otherwise. These important transactions seemed but superstructures upon the original foundation; for although in diplomacy the matter (the Eastern question) had nominally shifted into a question of religious protection, embracing equally the Czar's co-religionists in the metropolis of Turkey, in other cities—among the scanty population of Montenegro and the orthodox (Greek) Christians of Bethlehem and Jerusalem

—still it had become a settled creed among us that the kernel of it all lay with us in the Holy Places; that the pretensions of St. Petersburg to an ecclesiastical protection [of co-religionists] by virtue of treaty, aimed still, as at the very first, at an actual possession of the sanctuaries at the local well-spring of Christianity—that these sanctuaries were in very truth the meed contended for by gigantic athletes at a distance.

Καλὸν γὰρ τἆθλον καὶ ἡ ἔλπις μεγάλη.[1]

Jerusalem, although the central point, the pivot or axis upon which the Eastern question turned, lay remote from the actual strife.

Something reached us, some faint echo of the thunder, some distant flashes of the lightning, as when at the end of our long summer we note the clouds gathering in the north where Lebanon lies; and watch in our own sky, still clear and cloudless, the reflection of the vivid lightning that shows us where the first storms are raging—where the season is already broken up, while Jerusalem still lies calm under a cloudless sky.

It is, indeed, only at the very centre of the cyclone that calm is possible, while the hurricane rages at its circumference.

And we asked each other how long it might be before the storm of war bore down upon Jerusalem, travelling towards us, like the massive clouds from Lebanon and the great sea, bringing their thunders and lightnings—their pitiless hail and floods of rain upon the Holy City from the north-west.

[1] Plat. 'Phæd.'

I was the only person in Jerusalem favoured by a letter from the scene of action; it was dated Balaclava, October 28, 1854, and came from a clergyman, who, as the Reverend W. J. Beamont's friend, had lived with him for a while at the little English College, and taken part in the work he was doing there. This gentleman had volunteered as chaplain in our army. The letter was penned under the immediate inspiration of witnessing the deeds of Scarlett and his cavalry that same morning. The writer had himself occupied the famous battery No. 3 for his look-out during that gallant up-hill charge; but not having personally witnessed the afternoon doings of the Light Brigade, on that subject he was only able to furnish the common reports current at the time and on the spot. This was a very long epistle in small writing, containing besides the day's transactions many other incidents of intense interest to us all, related in a Christian spirit, such as behoved a preacher of the Gospel to maintain among the multitudes of men suffering and dying around him. It need hardly be added that the letter was circulated about, and read aloud to families or other groups of auditors throughout our Jerusalem community, till all were familiar with its contents.

The following are extracts from the letter:—

'I was waiting a reply to my offer addressed to the senior chaplain, when an opportunity occurred of going to the Crimea in the "Himalaya," conveying there the Scotch Greys. We did not arrive at the mouth of the Alma till three days after the battle; the next day our troops were landed at the mouth of the Catcha. Later in the day I found that the vessel might probably leave the fleet the next day for Varna: I decided upon at once joining the army, and succeeded after a solitary march across

country in reaching their camp just as twilight was setting in. Of all the deliverances I have experienced, this has seemed to me the greatest. I had no compass, and indeed had wandered out of the right way when I saw, upon a cross road, prints of wide hoofs, as I fancied, of English horses; following this I was led to the Belbec river, just as our last division was crossing the bridge. The sight of the thin clouds of smoke from our camp fires first gained from the hill above it was perhaps the most relief-ful I remember.

'In common with most of the officers, I had with me only the little I thought it wise to take with me to be carried on my shoulders. I found out happily the only officer I knew in the army: he shared with me his supper of salt pork, tea, and biscuit, and gave me what was literally a shake-down of hay to lie on for the night. We were twice roused up by false alarms of an impending attack. On the first occasion a raw Irish soldier stumbled over me as he attempted to get at his musket, and then nearly pricked me with his bayonet. On the second occasion I was awakened by a cry, "The Cossacks are coming!" The first sound of which I was conscious was the clatter of horses' hoofs: for a second I expected to be soon writhing on a Russian lance. The sound of the horses' hoofs died away, order was soon restored, and it was found that the cause of our alarm was a small number of horses that had broken loose. The next day our first division and staff of Lord Raglan advanced towards the Tchernaya, and the next morning took possession of this most valuable little harbour of Balaclava.

'Up to last Wednesday, the 25th, there had been no engagement of any importance after nearly three weeks of unavoidable delay spent in bringing up our siege train from this strange little land-locked inlet to the front; our batteries opened on the 17th. Up to the 25th there had been little loss among our men. Those killed by the enemy far from the town had been astonishingly few in number: very many of us might look back to escapes most marvellous, shells exploding on the right hand or the left, destruction around but not coming nigh us; and magnify the mercy of our Great Protector.

'A large Russian army had been collected in the valley of the Tchernaya; a reinforcement of cavalry had arrived swelling their numbers to 4,000 regular cavalry and 10,000 Cossacks, who, to use the expression of a wounded Russian officer who quickly adopted the language I had intended for severest rebuke, are "bons pour tuer les blessés." These attacked, about 7 o'clock, three redoubts in our front manned with Turks who were to emulate the heroism of the Defenders of Silistria. Two were assailed by infantry, one by Cossacks: in all three cases they retreated almost without firing a gun, leaving in the hands of the Russians several of our guns. I go out at 8 o'clock to read the Burial Service over those who have died in the night. I met numbers of Turkish soldiers trailing in carrying enough camp equipage to weigh down most shoulders; some of them tried to get on board our ships and were kicked out of the village by our indignant sailors, which in a curved line protect our position. I climbed up to battery 3, determined to share the dangers of our brave marines, and indeed feeling safer among them than in the valley. Shells and round shot were being sent out every minute. There was little time for asking questions. I soon discerned a large body of dark-coated cavalry in the plain below us; their ranks were broken by the fire from our batteries and the discharge of two volleys of musketry from the gallant 93rd Highlanders. These noble men met them in line as they were dashing into the village of —— at the head of the little valley leading to Balaclava, and drove them back. Some Turkish infantry drawn up on their right again broke and fled. To the 93rd alone belongs the glory of having held the mouths of the valley. I did not see this act of bravery, equal to any one reads in the annals of the most brave nations to whom God has given dominion. The cavalry were retiring from them; as I reached the battery a Russian field-battery appeared on the heights beyond the plain, but retired before the fire directed against it. The cavalry then, some 10,000 strong, I believe the whole regular cavalry in front, and Cossacks behind, made a dash down to the left of the valley leading to our head-quarters. They were met by our Heavy Brigade. I

came out with the Greys, had attended many in sickness and taken the deepest interest in the regiment: many of them are fine, intelligent, heroic men. I watched their charge with the deepest interest; they met the first ranks of the overwhelming force, engaged them hand to hand; it seemed like the mingling of two bodies of bees at the entrance of the hive, these returning honey-laden, and the empty foragers going abroad for plunder. The front ranks mingled for some minutes as the mass wavered backwards and forwards; both retreated after gaining vantage ground for another charge; the Greys galloped to the enemy, rode down man and horse, and supported by the 4th Dragoons drove this vast mass slowly backwards. This was all I saw: a ship full of sick had to be visited; I returned thankful that the attack had been repulsed. The redoubts indeed were lost and some of our guns, upon which the Russians could found a claim to a great victory, but the attack had failed in its object: Balaclava was safe. Our first division and some French regiments arrived from the front. I did not think that any amount of Russians could have driven them from their ground. (I would say this with the deepest thankfulness to God Almighty for having made us ashamed to fly from our enemies.) Alas! later in the day, while our whole cavalry division was watching the enemy, Lord Lucan who commanded it received from General Airey (the quartermaster general) the following order: "Lord Raglan wishes the cavalry to advance rapidly to the front, follow the enemy, and try to prevent it carrying away the guns. A troop of horse artillery may accompany. French artillery is on your left." Lord Lucan asked the bearer, Capt. Nolan, where the enemy was and what he was to do. He pointed to a force between two redoubts captured from the Turks in the morning. The order for a charge was given. Nolan went away at their head to show them the enemy. The Light Brigade plunged after him into a valley. A fire of shot and shell, canister and Minié rifle-ball opened after them from the redoubts; a field battery and infantry opened in front. Exposed to this terrific annihilating fire, out of 600 of the Light Brigade only 200 returned from the redoubt they entered; the gunners

were cut down, and if they had been supported by infantry the guns might have been taken. The Heavy Brigade advanced to support them, but were wisely checked in time to shun the certain ruin of a similar charge. The full loss is now known. 157, including nine officers, are missing, one or two officers are wounded in the Russians' power, and a very few of the men. 186, were wounded, some slightly; perhaps thirty of these may be now able to return to their duties: so our loss may be reckoned in the Light Brigade to amount to half of the number engaged, 300 out of 600. The Greys lost forty horses, about ten men killed, and perhaps twenty badly wounded. The sad news soon reached Balaclava; three wards of our hospital were cleared out, and the poor weak sick sent to tents on the hill-side. I was soon there, among the saddest sight ever brought before my eyes—brave mutilated men, some with seven or eight wounds, legs and arms smashed to pieces, amputations going on. As a man I could not have borne it, but I remembered whose servant I was, and what was my business there, and found the whispering of prayers for patience, and the pointing towards the cross of the Most Compassionate as the source of pardon and of comfort, a most sweet office; many little kindly acts, too, might be performed for the poor men. I was astonished to find how in that hour of suffering the great thought that they had done their duty seemed uppermost. A corporal of the Greys especially, whose shoulders were shattered and who had four wounds besides, told me as I knelt beside him, in words with difficulty breathed forth, "Thank God, Sir, I did my duty, I cut down three of them, but I could not parry the cannon-balls." It was an awful sight; the next morning most of the badly wounded were free from pain. I had an opportunity of addressing to them a message, to many the last which would reach them from their fellow-men. On that day we received orders to be ready to quit Balaclava; all our sick were put on board ship. It was on this morning that the garrison of Sebastopol, excited by inflated accounts of the destruction of our cavalry, and by other stimulants, were marched out, some 5,000 strong, to attack our battery in front of the

second division. Our pickets kept them at bay for some time; our regiments marched up; and they were driven back with the enormous loss of at least 300 killed, and perhaps 600 wounded, probably many more. I hope many thanksgivings were offered up for this great mercy. Our hospitals being empty, my functions ceased. I have again stated my willingness to be employed anywhere during the campaign, and I find I shall be needed. I have been in the habit of riding out on Sunday morning, first to the marine camp, then to our depôt at Balaclava, then two services at the two hospitals, and sometimes one later in the day at the cavalry camp, always four or five services, all but one in the open air, and though short, in the loudest voice—a good exercise for open-air preaching, which many of our brethren have begun to attempt in England. My Sundays are happy days, even last Sunday was so, when the bitter cold and rain rendered two of our journeys fruitless, except as concerned the visitation of the sick and wounded. I greatly enjoyed an afternoon service, attended by a few in my own quarters. The siege goes on very slowly; we have battered down one of the forts, the round one, and have almost silenced the guns of their batteries, and are now, I believe, waiting until the French are ready to storm. Our loss in front has been small. On the 26th only twelve men were killed in repelling all the vast host that was brought against us. My earnest hope is that the enemy may surrender without storming the place. This is not likely, as the strength of the relieving army is daily increasing. We have here in Balaclava, almost every night, alarms of the advance of Russian troops upon the plain. One night I twice got up, the first time in expectation of having immediately to take refuge on shipboard. The poor marines, night after night, sleep in the trench which they have dug round the side of their mountain —this is the only assailable place in our whole lines—they are very few in number, about 800 or 900 effectives, and their hardships have been, and are, very great. An officer was telling me to-day (the 31st) that for five weeks he had not taken his clothes off: every night an alarm had sounded and called him to the front. I cannot write very cheerfully. Sebastopol is, I

believe, much stronger than we imagined, from the land side; the delay of three weeks employed in getting up our guns enabled the Russians to form very strong outworks. Their armies are gathering round us, and when we have taken, as doubtless we shall take, the whole of this side, there is a doubt what we next can do, whether the batteries on the other side, and especially the Star Fort, will not require a second regular siege before they can be ours. We have, up to the 28th, been blessed with very fine weather, the nights not unbearably cold. For the last three days, however, a north-west wind, bringing rain, has set in—to-day the sun shone, but the wind still is cold, unbearably cold to men under canvas. The first detachments of a reinforcement of 20,000 French, and we hear 3,000 English, have reached us. To do all we have to do we need an army of 150,000 to 200,000 men, instead of the 100,000, to which, perhaps, the reinforcements and the sailors of the fleet may swell our numbers.'

Besides the Crimea, we felt considerable interest in the intelligence (seldom obtained, and meagre, it is true), relative to the proceedings on the Armenian frontier during the main part of the year 1855, with the fall of Kars, in November, through the cowardice or villany of Turkish officers. What else could we expect, if the Turkish commander were the same Mustafa Zareef Pashà who had been our governor previously in Jerusalem, in 1848? We also knew of him, and unfavourably, at Aleppo, in 1850.

It was a subject of some regret, to have no means of ascertaining the mind of persons or parties on the Russian side, as the single events transpired. Of course we had no Russians within reach, and Russian publications could not be procured. From the clergy of the Greek convent something of an expression of sen-

timent on that side might be expected, on account of their inveterate enmity to the Latin cause represented by France, and at present strengthened by England. At least, some such expression in favour of Russian views might possibly be looked for under other circumstances; but now it was clearly their interest to profess loyalty to the Sultan's government, and, indeed, they had grudges of their own against the Russians for having interfered in their affairs of the Holy Land, for some time past.

The Greeks, as all other Oriental Christians, stand in dread of Russian despotic rule. The government of the Sultan leaves them far greater liberty than they could ever hope for under the Czar, and therefore Eastern Christians hailed with joy the reforms and liberties promised by the Turkish Government, which held out the hopes of something like just government, while at the same time preserving the independence and individual existence of which Eastern Churches have never been deprived, even in the worst times, by their Moslem rulers.

Oriental Christians find fault with *the administration*, far more than with the *system*, of Turkish government.

And it was to the obtaining of administrative reform that Lord Stratford de Redcliffe bent his energies and immense influence. The nearest access to be obtained in Jerusalem to a state of feeling opposed to our own, in regard to the war, was that manifested by the Prussian Consulate, the English Bishop, and the German *employés* in English missionary pay. Their conversation, and the correspondence which some of them supplied to the 'Allgemeine Zeitung' and the 'Kreutz Zeitung' were not

only anti-alliance in their temper, but were often most trying to an Englishman's patience, especially in Jerusalem, where particular concord with Prussia might have been expected.

This, especially, under the circumstances in which the king Frederick William IV. had, in 1841, proposed the foundation of an English Bishopric to strengthen the previously existing English Episcopal Mission to the Jews, and had, in 1843, established the Prussian Consulate, selecting a man, in Dr. E. G. Schultz, who would enter fully and loyally into his royal master's desire to join, in a friendly spirit, with the English efforts and institutions so long before begun in the Holy Land.

False alarms were also circulated among us by them, as for instance on March 17th, it was proclaimed that a great action had taken place near Sebastopol, in which the principal attack of the Russians had been made upon the English Army, who were in consequence 'destroyed'; but that the French army, coming up late to their relief, had succeeded in regaining possession of the ground and the entrenchments, though also with immense loss; moreover, that all the steamers at Constantinople had been moved up to the scene of action to carry off the wounded. What foundation could there have been for this romantic fiction?

By this time the Sardinians had published their manifesto, and before the end of April their army was in junction with the great allies in the Crimea. Of course, that accession was so much gain to the cause they espoused, not only in numerical force, with the supplies belonging to that force, but in *morale* also.

The Latins rejoiced at the weight thus given to their side in the combat.

The world at once applauded the chivalry of that small nation; but it has been since remarked that the Sardinian *policy* coincided marvellously well with its *interest* in the career of events, seeing that the change took place at the time of Austria drawing nearer to the principles of the Western Alliance. Had the tendency not been in that direction, it would have been hardly safe for Sardinia to leave a neighbour hostile on her confines while going to war further eastwards.

Was the King, when taking this step, influenced to any extent by consideration of his claim to be king of Jerusalem?

We have seen (pp. 48 and 60, vol. i.) that when the Sardinian Consulate was maintained at Jerusalem, the pretensions of the King to the crown of Jerusalem were kept in mind, and that on the great ceremonial attending the revival of the Latin Patriarchate, and the entry of the Patriarch into Jerusalem, the Sardinian Consul wore a uniform which differed from his ordinary consular uniform of blue and gold. There were some who believed they had heard the Consul on that occasion declare himself to be actually the Viceroy of his master, the King of Jerusalem and of Sardinia. Our Consular Corps—on the side of the Alliance—was not, however, strengthened by this new movement, for Italian affairs were represented in Jerusalem by the French Consulate.

It was to us a merciful dispensation of Providence that the disorders ever attendant on the proximity of warlike operations never affected us. We were spared

the riotous behaviour of drunken sailors and soldiers in the streets, which was so annoying at Constantinople, as well as the collisions and the stilettos of low class Ionians or Maltese among the fanatic Moslems, and no roll of cannon wheels broke the primeval stillness—so special a feature of the land. There were no wheeled carriages or carts of any description in all Palestine from one end to the other.

At the same time we had no duty laid upon us of hospital care for the mangled forms of our gallant warriors.

But our English subjects, who had been long discontented with the absence of British shipping of any kind along the coasts, were now still louder in their complaints at the subsidy of French packets to carry our postage in the Levant. Certainly that circumstance showed confidence in the honesty and in the perpetuity of the Alliance.

The Mediterranean along the Syrian coast seemed to be really swept clean of English flags afloat. The rare mercantile vessels of a few years past were all now doing service among the swarm of transports in the Black Sea; yet, as for the national fleet-force on a large scale, our pride could not but be sufficiently gratified by the blockade of Sebastopol and by the glorious spectacle of our patriotic Queen leading out to sea the Baltic squadron—only our people here felt themselves deserted. Some French ships of war had been along our seaboard, where none of ours had been seen since the Stopford operations of 1841, except now and then, when one ship on the Bayroot station came down to Jaffa; but this was very rare indeed, and at intervals of several years. This

feeling of our people was noticed and taken advantage of by the unfriendly companions with whom they had daily intercourse.

The Orientals too took up the same tone, and it was not till six years afterwards that the appearance of British ships in force put the talkers to silence.

Tidings of the death of the Emperor Nicholas reached us on March 22nd, and this being a totally unexpected event, caused surprise, and speculation as to the measures of his successor on the throne. It could not be supposed that any mere difference of sentiment on the merits of the war, if such could possibly exist, would enable the new Czar to calm down at once the fervour of his huge nation, which had been already strained to the utmost by the invasion of actual Russian territory.

There could be no doubt that, the war having gone so far, the debate must henceforth be carried out by military means 'to its bitter end.'

CHAPTER XXIII.

CURRENT EVENTS IN PALESTINE.

No Pashà in Jerusalem—The Turkish Commandant's ideas of rule—Arrival of a temporary Governor, Rasheed Pashà—Attempted assassination of a native Moslem—Mr. Holman Hunt's account of his journey from the South end of the Dead Sea—Journey northwards—Condition of Nabloos—The Rev. John Bowen—His 'at homes'—Topics of conversation—Mr. Bowen's philanthropic plans—Village of Sanoor—Nazareth—Mr. Bowen's Sermons—Christian released from prison—Tiberias—Bassa near the Mediterranean—Tyre—A Christian wife of a Moslem negro—Antiquities for the Jerusalem Museum—Ruins at Um el Awameed—A Greek Catholic Priest at Nakhôra—Acre—Christian Priest's house at Burkeen—Passing through the hostile Arab forces at Burka—Report to the Governor at Nabloos—Indian Moslems at the spring at Beeré—Turkish Governor sent to Nabloos—Has to fight his way—Journey east of Jordan—In returning protect some poor women from their enemies—Arabs from East of Jordan join in the fighting—Native population and Turkish rule.

The Pashalic was now again, since Yakoob Pashà's death, administered by merely a commission of corrupt partisan Effendis. As a matter of course, the peasantry and the Arabs within the district endeavoured to use the opportunity for settling old quarrels. The fighting was not, however, resumed in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem, though the factions would no doubt have soon come to blows again had the interregnum been long. Happily it only lasted a few weeks.

For an example of the local government we had at that time, take the following :—

I had a complaint to prefer to the Major commandant

of the garrison, of a bad case of robbery on the high road. With a pleasing smile that officer made answer: 'Pek eyu! enti b'emsek boraya guetursen, ana be kesser.' Now it is necessary to save the trouble of scholars who may try to translate this jumble of Turkish, and attempt at Arabic, by explaining that he meant to say, 'Very good, you catch him; let him be brought here, and I will break [*i.e.* punish] him.'

This is but one specimen of the then Turkish idea of police or government, unmindful of any duty pertaining to discovery of the offender.

Alas! since then I have had to learn that when even the names and resorts of criminals were pointed out, it is possible for the authorities *to will not to punish* crimes committed. I am alluding to cases of murder.[1]

On November 2nd the Pashalic was supplied *ad interim* by my former acquaintance, Rasheed Pashà of Acre; but his official or military rank being only that of *Fereek* (or of one horse-tail), he was not entitled to a permanent appointment at Jerusalem, which had lately been ruled by a *Musheer* or *Wali* of three horse-tails.

Four years before Rasheed Pashà had been deprived of his command at Acre, for having failed to give sufficient redress on my application in the matter of a Latin riot at Nazareth against the Protestants; but he was after-

[1] The cases here alluded to occurred within the term of office of one Pashà, and after the Crimean war, when new and unexpected ideas had taken possession of the Turkish official mind as to the extent to which British subjects might be outraged without redress being exacted, or punishment of the evil-doers being required.

wards re-appointed, and had now been sent to Jerusalem at the recommendation of Mr. Consul Wood of Damascus and myself, merely for the object of having the local government held by some responsible Turkish official, instead of the irresponsible native Arab Effendis. Rasheed Pashà had been speculating upon the probable speedy decease of Yakoob Pashà, when I was at Acre in the preceding July, and on the possibility of his gaining the post; and his former experience had not been lost upon him, so that we now met as friends rather than enemies —'the past was past.'

Near the end of November a well-known Moslem, Haj 'Abdallah el Jârieh, connected by marriage with both the rival houses of Abu Gosh and Ibn Simhhân, came to me early in the morning with information that about sunset on the preceding evening, on returning homewards from Jerusalem to the hills with a few servants, he had been attacked, ten minutes from the city walls, on the Damascus road, by the villagers of Eesawîyeh (north-east of Jerusalem); that between them and his servants at least two hundred shots had been fired (of course an exaggeration), and that he only effected a return into the city through the excellence of his mare. He attributed this assault to the malice of Abu Gosh. The case being one for the governing Mejlis (council) and arising from factious party dissensions (which had existence within as well as without the city walls; for each party had its adherents among the Moslems in Jerusalem), I invited the Nakeeb and 'Afeef Effendi to hear it, preparatory to its being brought into the Seraglio.

The case could not be merely hushed up after having

been thus stated in the British Consulate, in presence of influential Moslem witnesses.

No more of the matter came before me; but no doubt, flagrant though the offence was, it was patched up by a mediation, with promise of good conduct, till a new Pashà should arrive.

Murder had been clearly intended and attempted. Haj 'Abdallah met his end, however, in the following April, being assassinated in the Ibn Simhhân country. He just lived to be brought to Jerusalem where he was a great favourite, and a very long procession assisted at the funeral.

Things were not in a satisfactory condition in the South.

Mr. Holman Hunt sent me the following description of the incidents that befell him on his way back after the sojourn at the south end of the Dead Sea :—

On Tuesday, November 28th, 1854, on a journey from the Dead Sea towards Hebron, when I had passed through that part of the wilderness of Ziph whence is seen Yutta on one hand and Nebby Lut on the other, and within an hour of my destination, I discovered the hill on my left to be occupied by a numerous band of men, who were frequently firing guns and exhibiting other signs of turbulence; and who, on our proceeding further along the road, in attention to a sign from some leader, descended the hillside, to the number of forty or fifty, and coming by our rear, seized our horses and bade me dismount; they then ordered me to wait while they consulted a few minutes, which resulted in a command to me to go on, and they enforced it in leading my horse over the brow of the declivity. I waited there a minute or two, but being anxious for the fate of my attendants and luggage, I returned, and found the whole surrounded by the company who had stopped us,

who were examining and enquiring as to the nature of the goods. Shortly after, being satisfied, they allowed us to pass. Our road, in turning, brought us in sight of another party to our right, who, after making some advances to us, seemed to be called back. Lower down in the valley we came in sight of other companies who held the hills opposite, to the right and left of the road as it proceeded on to the town. A horseman, with three or four followers, rode forward to within about 800 yards, as if to meet us, and we were told that he was 'Abderrahhman; while we were hesitating a moment, I heard three guns fired which had been silent hitherto, and at the same time recognising the sound of bullets passing near in the air, I and the men thought we were being fired at; to avoid the hill to our left we turned away under a projection, on which the beaten road lay, and thus reached the open valley. Here I remounted and rode up to the horsemen, saying I was an Englishman having nothing to do with the quarrel. I had been misinformed: he was an opponent to the Shaikh, and was commanding the townspeople, to whose side I had reached, and he motioned me to pass on to the town. All the way was thronged by boys and men armed, going or returning from the fight, and with children and elders sitting to watch a few small flocks of cattle. An hour later, about three, when I was at the Quarantine, we were surprised with the intelligence that the fellahheen had come round to the hill on the west and were descending to take the town; and on going out on to a terrace, we saw as many as between one and two hundred men, armed with guns and swords, rushing in the open space in front. Several men came out to oppose them, while the women, who had been mourning over some new graves, were flying into the town; but the affair ended in manifestations of fellowship, the Shaikh, with two or three other horsemen, having declared his company, the men of Doora, to be for the town against 'Abderrahhman's fellahheen.

Here I may state that the town was suffering for want of provisions, in consequence of the system pursued by the besiegers of stopping all the roads to prevent the entrance of flocks or produce, which are appropriated to themselves.

The next morning, on leaving Hebron, when three quarters of an hour on the road, we encountered a small party of mixed men, three or four horsemen and as many on foot, and dressed as if one or two were Arabs, and the others idle fellahheen, and all most disrespectable; these separated themselves into the different paths to intercept us. I purposely turned my horse towards the principal, and when I had reached him I looked up, and seeing him laughing, I said, as if casually, 'Marhabah!' He turned round mocking to the others, saying, 'Ah, a brother!' and it seemed as if he considered me at his favour; so I added, 'Yes, an English brother.' I saw him pay some attention to my gun as he passed towards the luggage, at which two or three of them stopped. I turned my horse and waited until they had all passed, but I believe they were disappointed at having to let it escape.

(Signed) W. Holman Hunt.

Jerusalem: December 2, 1854.

In the Jebel Nabloos (Samaria) meanwhile, the state of affairs was almost equally that of unrest. The Turkish Government was null, and the only security against extermination of the population lay in the alternative of Oriental slumber after violent action, or in the vigour of whichsoever of the rival houses (Abdu-'l Hâdy and Tokân) was uppermost.

During this period I received frequent intelligence from that quarter, furnished by the worthy missionary, the Rev. John Bowen [1]—besides that sent me by the regular correspondent—and it was of advantage to get intelligence of transactions as regarded by English eyes, and as thought over with English judgment.

In December, 1854, business called me to Soor (Tyre), notwithstanding the unusual time of the year for

[1] Afterwards Bishop of Sierra Leone, and deceased 1859.

travelling, and gave me fresh opportunities of observing the condition of the country, and the conduct of the various parts of the population.

I reached Nabloos (Shechem) the first night: my friend Mr. Bowen took me to inspect his school, forming part of his operations on behalf of the Church Missionary Society. The Christian boys formed a class by themselves, and in another room were about twenty Moslem boys (here in fanatic Nabloos!) besides three Samaritans and one Jew, all learning to read and write, with some common arithmetic, in their own native Arabic language. This separation of religions was a necessity in that place and at that time, and Mr. Bowen was quite capable of judging as to that necessity; for he was a man of large and generous heart, one who would have rejoiced in any possibility of friendly association of the different classes of scholars, more than the intercourse certain to arise out of their meeting at the same house every day.

In the evening of that day there arrived, without previous notice or concert, two parties of missionaries on their way to separate destinations; one was Dr. Krapf, for the Red Sea and Abyssinia, accompanied by a young man named Tehm or Tehmler; the other was the Rev. S. Lyde, fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, who had carried on work of his own, unconnected with any missionary society, in the mountains of the North of Syria among the wild Ansariyeh heathen.

These sudden meetings of men of like mind, arriving and passing on, have a special charm in Oriental lands where all houses are open to afford hospitable reception to strangers. Mr. Lyde and Mr. Bowen were delightful

specimens of the educated English clergyman, and both were able to converse freely in Arabic.

Mr. Bowen's 'evenings' were very attractive to the circle among which he laboured. After school duties of the day, and instruction of the people in mechanical working of an European improved oil press; after dinner (which in the East is universally at sunset) the large room was understood to be open for conversation, which of course was turned in a direction suitable to his missionary character. The heads of families dropped in one by one, each bringing his own long pipe and tobacco, and they ranged themselves on cushions, the simple divân, along the line of the walls. The host entertained them with small cups of coffee, or occasionally with tea (as being an English beverage); compliments and discourse followed—'not trivial, yet not dull,' as the poet said of his winter evenings. In fact, this represents the universal practice of Oriental sociality. It was surprising how rapidly, by means of thus living among the people themselves and away from Europeans, the missionary had been able to pick up sufficient power of conversing in that difficult tongue.

All classes of people and religions came to these 'evenings.'

I was among them once, when an elderly man—a native Christian and almost a stranger to the company—brought in a large old book, asking for an explanation of its title-page. It purported to be a history of the ancient Patriarchs before the coming of Christ, and he could not comprehend how there could have been either Greek or Armenian, much less Latin 'patriarchs' over their

respective churches before there was any Christian religion.

This difficulty, naturally arising in his simple mind, furnished excellent topics for the evening's discussion. The same evening there arose a controversy on the respective merits of the Gospel and the Korân, between Michail Kawwâr on the Christian side, and on the other side Shaikh Naamân, a former Mufti, assisted by Seleem Bek et Tokân, a brother of the city governor.

The discussion was conducted with better temper than might have been expected. Old times had certainly passed away, for such an argument could not possibly have been held in the last generation; and as another evidence of the same change, I may mention that my old acquaintance, the kâdi (Moslem judge) of Nabloos, never met me at that period without reciting the Lord's Prayer, to show his liberality of sentiment, and kissing me.

Mr. Bowen was at this time occupied with plans also for agricultural benefit to the people.

For the town of Nabloos he had promised from Europe an iron oil press, which when worked by intelligent hands would no doubt prove of great advantage to the native Protestants or others, by improving their means of subsistence, and so rendering them independent of casual and petty resources. He found immense difficulty in getting the machine set up, and then in working it, and was often to be seen labouring with his hands in this needful preparation.

For providing more varied means of subsistence, he hoped, after importing English ploughs and purchase of oxen, to establish small farming colonies about the rich

but desolated land of the plain of Esdraelon, to consist of Protestant Christians alone, or with others with them. Unforeseen difficulties, however, presented themselves; for the persons intended to be so benefited were either townsmen, accustomed to the meanest degree of petty shopkeeping in the bazaars, or other persons equally unfitted and unwilling to labour in the fields or in mere mechanical operations (how unlike himself!).

And then arose apprehensions, but too well founded, from forays of the Bedaween infesting the neighbourhood of that great plain of Esdraelon, as from time immemorial.

Neither scheme prospered without him; and no one has since been found to take up his benevolent enterprise. Let it not be imagined that meanwhile the missionary was neglecting his spiritual office. Would that all missionaries were able to do as much in that respect as he did.

I cannot suffer myself to proceed, without an expression of intense admiration for the energy and the masculine tone of mind, combined with a fascinating kindliness, so conspicuous in this model missionary of our days—John Bowen!

At the time of his residence among us we were entirely ignorant of his previous Canadian history, or of how nearly the providence of God had once seemed to have designed him for Patagonia instead of Syria.

This visit in 1854–5 was Mr. Bowen's second to the Holy Land—he had been with us some time before—and chiefly, if not entirely, at his own expense. He soon learned to speak and preach to the people in their own language, and he greatly endeared himself to them. He

went about freely among them—in the villages, as well as in the towns of Nabloos and Nazareth. It was touching to hear them in after years inquire for 'Khury Hhanna' —curate John—as he was affectionately called by them. How is it that, in all these thirty-six years since the founding of the English bishopric in Jerusalem, the visits of this one clergyman should be all that Englishmen have attempted in the way of making personal acquaintance with, or doing anything for, the Christians and other inhabitants of Samaria and Galilee? One other, the Rev. J. Mills, a Welsh Presbyterian minister, spent some months soon afterwards, studying the manners and history of the Samaritan people. With these two exceptions no one from our land has remained, even a few days, in this most interesting district, visited and passed through by hundreds of British travellers, for pleasure, but cared for by none. And yet, what a field for usefulness is here open and ready!

The Rev. John Bowen was the first and the last Englishman in all these years, who devoted some part of his time and money to the improvement of his fellow-creatures in that land.[1]

Leaving Nabloos for the north, and passing over the shoulder of Mount Ebal, about an hour's very rough riding brings the traveller to Jebà, the headquarters of the Jerân family. (See description of the Nabloos clans, chapter ix.)

Here commences a long narrow plain, on the journey

[1] Seven more years have passed since the above words were written, and still there has been no further effort made by our countrymen.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

northwards, half-way along which a hill rises so directly in front as to appear from a distance to bar the way further; on this hill is posted the important village of Sanoor. The name is unknown in any records of antiquity that we have, and even in the mediæval chronicles, but it is celebrated in modern Arab warfare, on account of two sieges with artillery—one conducted by Jezzâr Pashà of Acre, the other by the Ameer Besheer of the Lebanon, in aid of 'Abdallah Pashà (also of Acre), of infamous memory, in 1830.

Cannon balls and fragments of shells (one shell still entire) are yet to be seen in the fields around.

Previous to 1850, this place had been long abandoned, only one or two miserable hovels having been rebuilt out of the ruins of Sanoor. In that year I had slept at Jebà, and the Shaikh Ahhmed Jerâr, in conversing about old times, informed me that the hill of Sanoor is perforated with secret passages, now, however, mostly blocked up by fallen-in earth, and that over the entrance of one of these there used to be a figure of an eagle sculptured in the rock. The idea struck me that these subterranean vaults and the sculpture were not of Arab construction, and I eagerly enquired what had become of the eagle. He answered that when he was a boy their people smashed it to atoms, not wishing to preserve the image of any living creature.

In an after journey through the country I slept at Sanoor, when more houses had been built, and I enquired further on these matters from the few people settled there. They confirmed the existence of the blocked-up passages, but swore that the sculptured figure had not

been an eagle but a lion. Hence I concluded in my own mind, that it had probably been both—namely, a winged lion—a relic of Venetian or other crusading possessors.

The position of this hill is a most important one in a military sense, midway along a narrow plain, through which runs the only highway from Galilee to Judea, unless by taking immensely circuitous routes. The place is, however, easily commanded by modern artillery from the near hills on each side of the road.

I reached Nazareth, and was there on Sunday in company with Mr. Bowen, and attended the Divine Service of the native Protestants in their schoolroom. A bell placed on the roof gave the call to prayers. A novel privilege was this ringing of a bell, only attained through the favourable circumstances of the times, and the fact that we and other Christians were the active allies of the Sultan.

I found that the Latin and Greek Christians had also, of late, obtained an augmentation of privileges from the local government. The former of these were erecting a house for 'Sisters of Charity.' Our Anglican service in Arabic was numerously attended, the responses of the Liturgy heartily made by the congregation. The first lesson was read by the schoolmaster and the second by the Senior of the heads of families.

Mr. Bowen gave a sermon 'from the heart to the heart,' such as endeared him to the people wherever he went, and keeps his name in memory to the present day.

After sermon, the Mutsellim (governor) paid me a visit, and I represented to him the hard case of one of

the Protestant natives being imprisoned before trial, on a money suit by a Greek Christian, and asked that the poor man should be let out on bail until hearing of the case on the morrow, adding, that if it should turn out to be true, as I had heard, that the man had been put in chains on his first seizure, the illegal act should be reported to the Musheer in Bayroot. In a very short time the man was at liberty among his friends, and the matter was examined next day.

This incident is a specimen of the way in which Turkish authorities could be set in motion by Christians against Christians, for purposes of spite or persecution, and usually by means of a bribe.

In the afternoon there was again Divine Service and a sermon.

During the afternoon the children of the town, both Moslem and Christian, paraded the streets, carrying sticks with shreds of coloured calico, by way of flags, and singing a chant from house to house, praying for the blessing of rain; the same thing, in fact, as processions in Roman Catholic countries, for invocation of rain, health, or other benefits from heaven.

The spring at the only town fountain in Nazareth had been dried up for several weeks, and water had to be brought in jars from a considerable distance. The spring itself which feeds the fountain is beneath the altar of the Greek Church, and is believed by that sect to have been the real site of the Annunciation of the Angel Gabriel to the Blessed Virgin; that is to say, that the altar and the church have been built over the spot, as tradition fixes it.

The Latins have a different spot assigned to that great

event, and have built, long ago, their altar and church over it, with the Franciscan Convent attached thereto.

On Tuesday I proceeded to Tiberias, and staying in Weissmanns House, three large fish were brought in for our evening meal, the only fish that had been caught for several weeks, owing to the delay of rain, as under such circumstances of the weather the fish usually remain deep in the lake. Next morning the boat went out fishing, but up to the hour of our leaving Tiberias, the men had toiled and caught nothing.

Our lodging was not far from the synagogue of the fanatic Chabad sect of the Jews, whose prayers through the night, attended by vehement shrieks and howlings, frequently disturbed our sleep. But this was compensated for by the delicious freshness of the early morning before sunrise, with stars reflected on the peaceful water.

Here in Tiberias I had a duty to discharge, that of remitting alms, sent for relief of Jewish distress by the Rev. Ridley Herschell. We left, on the way across country, and got that night to Mejd el Croom on the Plain of Acre.

Crossing the plain next day, from thence to Bussa, on our journey northwards towards Tyre, we came upon an ancient site of ruins, with one object standing conspicuous from the rest, namely, a column of eleven drums (an architectural term), still *in situ*, but the capital, or statue, if there had been one, gone. The column stands upon a square pedestal of large masonry, which alone reached as high as my head while on horseback. Upon the northern side (not the direction of the sea), the column is much corroded by weather, while the other side remains un-

injured. Upon the western side (that facing the sea) are four regularly drilled holes, not very high above the pedestal, which would seem to have been receptacles for huge nails to hold an inscribed metal plate, long ago despoiled probably for the sake of the bronze material, and thus the record of the pillar's object is lost for ever and imagination is left to its ample range for speculation as to the people and their language who built it. This site and column I had never found mentioned by any previous traveller, nor, indeed, up to 1870 (if since then), except by Thomson, who merely gives its name. Some countryman passing by told me that the place was called *Hhumseen*, but that its ancient name was *Sumaà*, as they had been told by Europeans who know all about such things from their books.[1]

For professed explorers without other business on hand, the mountain ridge of the Musheirifeh not far in front, and running from the east into the sea, probably the Misrephoth-Maim of Scripture, and the valleys running inland to Galilee from this Phœnician plain, are likely to contain many objects to reward their researches; there is especially a massive old castle, which shows itself at the mouth of one of these recesses.

Just before rising to cross the promontory were numerous streams and gardens, with a lake, belonging to the adjacent village of Bussa. These waters seem to have given the epithet of *maim* (waters) to the ancient name given above. (See Joshua xi. 8.)

The muleteers delight in making halts for the night,

[1] I visited the column again in 1859, besides having frequently seen it from the road in travelling.

upon their journeys, beside the runnels near the beach, and we found that the Kâdi of Acre had commenced building a Khân for travellers there.

The Christian priest of Bussa (of the Greek Church) invited us to rest with him for the night, as, he affirmed, it would be impossible to reach Tyre before dark; but we obstinately kept on our road, and found night overtake us before coming to Râs el Ain (the springs south of Tyre), where flashes of sheet lightning played over the cascades that tumble and foam between the ancient reservoirs (ascribed to Solomon) and the sea. This lightning was a sure presage of approaching rain.[1]

A broad lamplight, visible across the maritime plain, was pronounced to be the usual weekly illumination of the Weli (little domed building) at Ma'ashook at old Tyre, on the eve of Moslem Sabbath, *i.e.* Thursday after sunset.

The gates of Tyre were closed, but readily opened on our arrival. Business detained me some days in Tyre at the house of the native gentleman who was British Consular Agent. The family were in deep mourning for their father, but on St. Nicholas' Day (December 18, new style), all the ladies appeared without mourning, in especial finery, with jewels and ornaments of gold coins. One of the party said he felt curious to know how the festival was being observed within the walls of Sebastopol.

After I had decided a case which properly and directly belonged to my jurisdiction, a curious matter was laid before me by the parties interested. A poor woman, originally a Christian, had married a Moslem negro,

[1] Psalm cxxxv. 7, and Jeremiah x. 13.

thereby practically renouncing her Christianity. After a lapse of years, as old age came on, her conscience resumed its office, and she desired to return to her early creed. But the clergy (Greek Catholic) refused to allow her the sacraments of the Church during the existence of the marriage; and the mere liberty of declaring herself a Christian, or of attending Christian worship—now permitted by the Sultan's proclamation of toleration—were not sufficient to satisfy her.

The husband appeared before me as well as the woman. Finally, after discussion of the matter, he agreed to give her a divorce. There then only remained some question about the property in the kitchen utensils, which was remitted to the decision of an arbitration.

All the Christians in the town rejoiced at the issue and at the recovery of a Christian to the fold of the Church. The Moslems were not offended.

Before my departure from Tyre, my host made some valuable presents to the museum of the Jerusalem Literary Society, viz., a headless marble statue of a female figure, nearly life size, in Grecian drapery, also some vessels of exceedingly thin glass, which had been discovered among the hills at two or three hours' distance eastwards, by a peasant ploughing his field. These and other curiosities of antiquity previously presented, such as some embossed leaden plates, taken from the face of tombs near Kana, (of Naphtali), and masses of hardened breccia of murex shells from the Tyrian dye pots along the beach, were still in the museum at Jerusalem when I left in 1863.

We turned homewards on December 19th, with the sea

as calm as it was possible to be and the weather fine. Many boats were out fishing in the southern bay, this calm, after tempestuous weather, being considered by the people as promising particular success. The whole scene was cheerful. But the most remarkable feature of the landscape was that of the Anti-Lebanon mountains—Jebel esh Shaikh (Hermon) and Sairek—covered with dazzling snow, projected upon a sky of deep indigo colour, for what had fallen as rain to us had been lodged as snow at that elevation. The strong contrast of the white and the dark blue drew the mountains apparently closer to us than usual.

The large district on the plain around the springs at Râs el 'Ain, now a pestilential marsh, had been taken on grant from the Sultan by the Grand Vizier Rasheed Pashà, with the intention of draining and cultivating the land, but the work was only advancing slowly; two small farmhouses had been erected, though scarcely yet finished, and four of the overseers from Constantinople had died of fever there in two years. It was understood that His Highness intended, after completion of the drains, to make large plantations of pine for purifying the atmosphere, as had been done long ago about Bayroot; but the evident failure of the undertaking was ascribed by all our Tyrian friends, who had accompanied us thus far on the way, to the denunciations of Divine prophecy, by Ezekiel.

Near Ṇakhôra, I turned aside from the road to inspect the site on rising ground where a group of three tall pillars remains standing, and for which the people have no other name than Um el Awameed (Mother of

Columns). This place was, I believe, first mentioned in print by Vandevelde, who did not, however, go to it; but it deserves to be visited. A large town has been there, and the lines of streets are still distinctly marked; the masonry is generally of a similar character to that found at Bether (S.W. of Jerusalem), that is to say, of well squared stones, not rabbeted and not exceeding three feet in length.

There are remains of public edifices, such as temples, and one building with gate-posts having grooved edges, at least twelve feet in height; and two fallen columns within and one more lying outwards, as well as the great lintel stone. No columns are standing but the three which are most conspicuous from the high road near the sea-beach. The only one capital remaining in its place has been much defaced piecemeal by wilful mischief, probably by the usual method of firing bullets at it as a mark. Other capitals, however, are lying about, some of them with volutes, also door-posts. The building enclosures were choked up with sprouts of Balloot oak, prickly pear, hawthorn, and terebinth, besides flowers brought out by the recent change of weather, such as arum, squills, and nettles. Birds were singing around, and an ancient tortoise lay basking in the sunshine. The position commands a wide prospect of the Mediterranean.

Descending to Khân Nakhôra we had our table-cloth spread upon the ground by the road side, when there came up a portly priest belonging to Dair Mokhallis (the Convent of the Saviour), beyond Sidon, riding a mule and escorted by a peasant on foot. In attempting

to dismount alone, the mule's girth being loose, the saddle turned round, so that his reverence tumbled on his head and lay upon mother earth, till our cook ran up and cut the stirrups with his sword. How angry the sufferer became! and the height of his indignation was vented in asking the guide if he called himself a Christian? The latter was horrified at the doubt expressed in such a query and by such a person. To pacify the clerical gentleman I invited him to share our meal, but he would have nothing to do with us, the witnesses of his humiliation, and remounted so soon as the saddle was balanced by means of a piece of rope. He jogged away from the scene, and we watched him performing the critical feat of traversing the rugged promontory. He probably passed the night at Bussa, among the Christians there.

The sun had set when we were abreast of Zib (Achzib), consequently a good distance still from Acre, but the column of Humsin stood defined against the twilight sky to our left.

Night came on darkly with a stormy though not a cold wind, and a kawwâs was dispatched at full speed to have the gates of the fortress opened for us; the sound of the horse's hoofs on the old broken paved road (over which the traveller still passes for several miles) clattered long after he was out of sight. How delicious was the fragrance of the orange plantations as we passed the almost unseen villa of Bahhjah!

Entering the city of Acre, our friends came with lanterns to meet us and lead us to the house of Girgis Gemmâl; but the soldiers warned us to keep the lights

at a distance from a line of field-pieces which were passing, and which they said were to be taken in a few days to Damascus, probably for Erzeroom. Is it possible the guns were charged? or were there filled tumbrils by the side of these? There really is no knowing what things Turkish soldiers may do.

From Acre we travelled to Nazareth, and thence, after a night of heavy rain (this was late in December) as the sun shone a little, we addressed ourselves to crossing the plain of Esdraelon, though expecting it to be very wet and slippery. Previous experience had taught us the difficulty of performing that journey in muddy winter weather. However, the further we progressed the drier the plain was found to be, for only on the Nazareth side had there been any rain.

Midway across we met the missionary Klein, proceeding to hold his Christmas at Nazareth. The villages of Fooleh, Afooleh, and Mekebleh were utterly depopulated.

Instead of going to Jeneen as usual, I changed my route and went to Burkeen instead, where, as we heard, a Christian priest resided in a good house, and was willing to receive as guests the Christians passing between Nabloos and Nazareth.

The village of Burkeen is located in a glen running in southwards from the great plain, to the Samarian mountains. Not many months previous there had been a great fight there, between the hill country peasants and the Beni Sukh'r Arabs, ending in a complete route of the latter, who declared that they could not stand before the bullets of their adversaries, which things they denominated

bizr or seeds.[1] Swords and spears were of no use against such; the name of *seeds* is rather poetic, differing from that of the peasantry, who, if asked what they were shooting, would certainly reply *lead*, no other name.

Arrived at the house of Priest Shâker of Burkeen, we found it to be a miserable, very miserable homestead, with a farmyard well stocked with cattle. Having passed through much slush and mud we got to the dwelling itself, but from the principal apartment which was hospitably allotted to us, it was necessary to eject some cows, and kids, and poultry. I had my good horse brought in with us for safety, as the sky was cloudy and might pour down rain, and there he stood shackled, with his long tail trailing the fireplace at every switch. A cat still refused to depart, but sat up aloft on a cross beam eyeing the intruders with no goodwill.

The time of our arrival was about an hour before sunset, but the priest did not come himself to welcome us; he sent his son with an apology to the effect that he was suffering under distress of mind, on account of a decision given that day by the Moslem Shaikh of the village, contrary to his interest in some family property, begging therefore to be excused.

What sort of an idea can an enlightened English public frame to itself of an Arab parsonage-house, or of a rural native clergyman of the Greek Church, on the edge of the plain of Esdraelon? Would it at all approach the actual truth?

[1] This appellation given by the wild men to bullets used in warfare may seem strange at first, but is it really more inappropriate than our term of *grape* shot?

The Christians in Burkeen amount to about twenty families, and they complained bitterly to me of the degraded state in which they were kept by the Moslems, co-villagers and neighbours, not only in matters of taxation (having to pay more than their share); but for example in the recent battle with the Arabs, they were not allowed to make use of their own guns, which they usually carry in times of peace, but were then only permitted to use clubs and stones, on the theory that none but true believers should have the privilege of being allowed to be fighting men. The fact, however, of the British Consul alighting at the priest's house, rather than at that of the Moslem Shaikh, was likely to raise the Christians a little in the estimation of their Moslem neighbours, or at least to make them more careful how they treated them.

At other times I had slept in strange places of that country, but nowhere had I experienced such torment of fleas; and the long winter night seemed endless; it was indeed by the calendar the longest night of the year (December 21st). My companion and I wiled away part of it in chatting; sometimes we started up and struck a light to gossip by, then fell asleep again, and so on alternately. At length the cocks crew, and with early dawn the ladies of the family came from some other part of the mansion, to get their supply of grain out of the large bins built of clay inside the chamber we were in, and with this they set to work grinding at the hand-mill.

By sunrise we were on the road with a guide to Kabâtieh. Cold mist hung over all the fields till the

sun rose higher; all the stubble of the cotton harvest was thoroughly wet with dew; the people, however, were taking advantage of the suitable weather for ploughing and sowing, which operations in Palestine are performed together, the seed being scattered in front of the plough.

On the level plain we got a distant view of Arrâbeh (mentioned before as the stronghold of the 'Abdu 'l Hâdi clan or faction), to which a countryman pointed as he said, 'There lies the mother of all our miseries; the world will never be at peace till that is levelled with the ground;' and as far as human understanding would reach with respect to that district ('the world' for these people), he was in the right, for it is the very focus of the 'Abdu 'l Hâdi faction, and the proceedings which we witnessed later in the same day would chime in with his conclusion.

Just before reaching Sanoor we met a party of about seventy armed men, singing a war song on returning from some recent operation ahead of us. They told us that they had been summoned by their leaders to march to Burka, near Sebustieh (Samaria, of which we were still north), but were now going home on learning that a reconciliation was being transacted which would render their services needless.

After these we met smaller parties straggling behind the main body; they were also returning without having had an opportunity of 'burning powder.' All the men bore the distinguishing features of the Jebel Nabloos peasantry, a deceitful and even cruel expression of countenance, and they wore the red tarboosh on the

head, longer in shape than that worn by our neighbours of the South, and dangling on one side; they walked with a rakish swagger in their gait and a mischievous general appearance.

Our road lay direct to Burka, but before mounting the hill to Fendecomia some women who were employed in beating the olive trees (an agricultural operation for gathering the fruit, which, by the way, is strangely termed 'milking the trees') told us that wild Arabs were out in front as auxiliaries to Dâr (the House of) Jerâr (see Chapter IX. for account of this one of the Nabloos clans).

Descending the long hill from its crest downwards, a single shot was heard, but we saw no people; a dead silence hung over the country. Near the bottom we were met by two peasants and a Bedawi Arab, all armed, who inquired if we had fired that shot?

The Kawwâs answered, 'No matter,' to which the Arab replied, 'Do not you say "No matter." I advise you to keep all close together.'

About two hundred yards further on and at a turn of the road we saw some Arab mares picketed, and bright spears piled in a cluster, also one spear laid across the road, which seemed to denote that progress beyond it was inhibited. Close at hand there was a palaver of Shaikhs, both village and (their allies) Bedaween, held beneath some trees. This, no doubt, was the parley for reconciliation of which we had heard from the party met on the road.

Thought I to myself, that boundary mark, the spear, has nothing to do with us, so I headed my company and

stepped my horse over it, announcing at the same time who I was.

On this some of the clan Jerâr came forward and advised me not to go on, and then we perceived a party of men in direct front behind a parapet, on which their guns rested, levelled, pointing in our direction. I however advanced in silence, leading all my company, and so got into the village of Burka, where we found all the doors and windows closed, and each corner of the streets occupied by a post of three armed men.

In one place, behind the main scene of these tragic preparations, all the women and girls were drawn up in a line close to the houses.

Finding that affairs looked serious, I judged it best to pass straight on, without interfering with either party even by word, but determined on arrival at Nabloos to give notice to the Governor. Not a syllable was spoken either by the belligerents or by us; the wild Arabs made no attempt at plunder of our baggage, and we kept on our high road without molestation.

The village of Burka lies in a hollow between steep hills, and on our attaining an eminence beyond we remarked patrols of mounted Arabs in every direction near the line that we had gone over, and in an olive wood were about a hundred dismounted Arabs with their mares picketed and their spears glittering in the sunshine. Near us on the high ground were several peasants crouching on their breasts to watch the exciting spectacle at Burka; one jolly fellow on horseback, smoking a short pipe (that is to say, short for this country), pointed out to me the respective positions of the

combatants, and said that all this affair arose from a marriage, inasmuch as half the villagers were of the Jerâr faction, and the rest attached to Abdu 'l Hâdi. The Beni Sukh'r Arabs were there professedly as mediators, but really on the look-out for what was to be got, and to get it.

After turning our backs upon the scene we heard a stentorian shout, 'Horsemen, be ready!' which was answered by a savage yell from the hill of Sebustieh (Samaria). This, however, was no more than a cry of impatience, to keep both parties on the alert.

It may be hoped that not only the consideration of their own interests, but also our quiet passage through the scene (which the belligerents would not dare to molest or to detain us from giving notice to the Governor of the district) tended to quicken the negotiations of the parliamentarians under the trees. I considered that any attempt that might have been made then to mediate or to promote concord would not only have failed in its object, but would have been laid to the account of silly simplicity, and that the course we took quietly and firmly was most likely to produce an impression. How deplorable is the state of a country in which the devilish ambition of a few men is at any time capable of arresting agricultural labour (more especially when ploughing and sowing ought to be going on), and leading to hatred and bloodshed among near neighbours!

Rain came on, but I rode into Sebustieh (Samaria) in order to look once more at the Herodian colonnades and the Church of St. John the Baptist, the fine apse of which had fallen in since my last visit. The people assured me

that the demolition had not been done by hostile factions, but that the wall had fallen from the effects of the preceding year's snow and rain.

All along the way to Nabloos we met small parties advancing towards the scene of the warfare through which we had passed, and near that city everyone was inquiring for news.

Of course it was an immediate duty to acquaint the Governor with the occurrences which had come under our observation. (By the way, this Governor of Nabloos was the important personage whom, in the last July, we had seen with his Bashi-bozuk escort and kettledrums near Sanoor, going his circuit, 'to put everything to rights.' He was one of the opposite party from Abdu 'l Hâdi, being of the rival house of Tokân.)

He sent me word while at dinner that he had known for a week past that affairs were tending to disorder, and had sent out some Bashi-bozuk now in the direction of Burka, to ascertain the exact state of matters, and that he had also sent notice to the Pashà in Jerusalem.

After dinner he came himself, and said that a messenger had just returned from Burka, reporting that the whole business was made up. So I asked him to write this to the Pashà, for me to carry it in the morning. To this he objected that, as the tidings were not absolutely to be depended upon, it would be improper to write them to His Excellency without previous consultation with the Civic Council. So I set down in my mind that the pacification had not yet been effected.

Ali Bek, the governor, assured me that, with regard to the fall of the apse in the Church at Sebustieh (Samaria),

that had been caused by a man of the place (he told me his name, but I forget it) attempting to build up a hovel within the ancient walls. In doing so he loosened some stones near the ground, which naturally brought down what was above.

Next morning (Dec. 23), having started early for Jerusalem, we found at Beeré the petty chamber over the spring of water which is used for a mosque, and also for lodging of Moslem pilgrims, occupied by some Indians (British subjects), miserably cold, in ragged cotton clothing, and very hungry. Our arrival was a blessing to them, for they at least got a share of our food.

Arriving at Jerusalem that evening, we reached home for Christmas.

The disorders in Nabloos continued and increased throughout the year and the next year, so that in May, 1855, a Turkish governor having been sent to that district, he had to fight his way through the Tokâr faction to reach the metropolis of his government, and several lives were lost on that occasion.

He occupied the post but a short time, and left it to the previous anarchy. It was calculated that during the years 1854 and 1855 between three and four hundred lives were sacrificed in these local contentions for supremacy in the Jebel Nabloos.

We saw something of the condition of this district later in the year, when on our way back to Jerusalem, after an interesting expedition east of Jordan.

In the month of May, 1855, a large party of English travellers was formed, for the 'regions beyond Jordan.'

Several single travellers at long intervals having al-

ready undertaken this excursion, and the 'Adwân Arabs being anxious to facilitate the resort of visitors to that district (which they regarded as their territory) for their own pecuniary benefit, it seemed advisable for the Consul to go thither himself, not for gratification of historical or literary curiosity (though there was much to attract attention in the antiquities of that little-explored territory), but for the practical object of knowing the points to be visited, and the capability of these Arabs to ensure the safety of those British subjects who might entrust themselves to their guardianship.

The details of that excursion are already published in my volume upon the 'Byways in Palestine.'[1] It will, therefore, be sufficient here to mention that the places visited were Heshbon, Elealeh, Ammon, Es-Salt, Jabbok, Jerash, and Um Kais, ending at Tiberias, whence I returned to Jerusalem.

It may be a matter of curiosity, now or hereafter, to learn that the sums paid for our escort were according to written contract, which was faithfully observed by our Arabs. The terms were laid down at a thousand piastres for each of the first three persons, whoever they might be, and two hundred for each of the rest. It need scarcely be added that this arrangement was the one *quoad* the Arabs, but that among ourselves the expenses were equally divided. (One hundred piastres came to rather less than a pound sterling.) There were also some small presents to be given, such as a sheep for a feast, one at Ammon and another at Jerash.

The whole expedition was one of perfect security and

[1] 'Byways in Palestine' (Nisbets).

contentment on both tides. Our Arabs were able to convey us safely through the territory which we desired to traverse, and over which no Turkish soldiers could have ventured at that time.

When in the Ammon country we visited the Adwân camp under Abdu 'l Aziz, and there met Shaikh Deâb. He gave us a state reception, and the great Shaikh was dressed in green silk with silver-handled sword and dagger. His eyes were keen and piercing, like those of a hawk in pursuit of prey. We visited him at his own camp, making a formal visit, giving presents to the Shaikh, which were accepted of course, and held up in silence by his attendants for the inspection of the tribe, a transaction of much gravity, in spite of the sound of the women's voices laughing and chattering behind the partition of the great tent. We were then entertained with pilaff, milk, lebben, coffee, and pipes, before going on our way.

The great Anezi Shaikh Faisal was encamped within a few hours of Jerash, among whose ruins I had an opportunity of seeing a Turkish official collecting taxes in this wild country where Turkish rule is not easily enforced. I had also met the chiefs on both sides in a war that broke out immediately after among the wild men; Shaikh Barakat el Fraikh on the one side, with his train at Jerash, and Shaikh Fendi al Faiz, of the Beni Sukh'r on the other, the latter at the camp of 'Akeeli Aga, who was, nominally at least, holding the district west of Jordan for the Turks.

On our way back to Jerusalem we passed through Nabloos, and after leaving the town and getting near

Hhawâra, we overtook two peasant women, one of whom was carrying a baby in a hammock slung at her back. They screamed to us to protect them from the reapers whom we saw rushing at them from an adjoining field, encouraged by an old woman also with a sickle in her hand, who called on the men (her sons) to strip them.

We were just ahead when this happened, and of course interfered, keeping beside the women for some hours till they were in safety. The reason given was, that the men of the village to which the women belonged had stolen ten cows from the others. The reapers threatened to take our baggage-mules for protecting the women. The poor creatures walked fast, but they nevertheless delayed us. They could not be induced to mount and ride among the baggage. The baby was a boy of four months old, the only child of his mother, and the party had been to Nabloos for medical advice. They were afraid that the women of Lubban would fall upon them, and it soon appeared not without reason.

At the spring of the Khân they came and sat close to me for protection, but it being the fast of Ramadân, they could not be induced even to drink water for refreshment after all their fatigue and fright.

As they proceeded up the high hill on the summit of which they would be safe, the Lubban women at the spring set to cursing us for letting them escape.

Before leaving us, the women told us that the property which they had in a bundle, together with the blue garments which they wore, might be altogether worth about fifty piastres—less than ten shillings. These women were, as well as their enemies, Moslems.

There had lately been a battle near Lubban, in which wild Arabs of the Beni Sukh'r (whose chief I had met at Jerash, east of Jordan) had taken part. One of them had lifted the tarboosh (red cap) from the head of a Turkish governor of the district with his spear, and another carried it off triumphantly on his spear; but trifling skirmishes such as these did not interfere with the ordinary course of events.

Some changes have taken place in these districts east of the Jordan since that period, as to the relations between the Arabs and the Turkish Government, leaving, however, the permanent state of matters very much as they were before. Interesting discoveries have of late years been made on the other side of Jordan, by De Vogüé, De Saulcy, and Tristram, but much still remains for future research.[1]

Whether on the west or on the east side of the Jordan, the relation of the natives to the Turks is the same. The people, as has been already shown, are aliens from their rulers; they are of different blood and language, and are impatient of the foreign supremacy, though loyal to the sovereign, as being chief of the religion of Islâm.

It has been often said that there is no such thing as patriotism among them. True, the word 'patriotism' does not exist in their language. The only term of the

[1] Captain Warren, R.E., with others on behalf of the Palestine exploration party have been there still later than the above. The American Explorers have been the last travellers to make researches in this vast and interesting field, and yet even their work does not go much beyond a thorough reconnaissance or sketch of what ought to be done. Their photographs are very fine, and give a better idea than any before attempted of the richness of the architectural remains on that side of Jordan.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

kind which the Arabic newspapers have adopted as its equivalent, is 'love of home,' 'mohhabet el watan.' *Hhabb el wattan min el aimân*—'The love of country is an article of faith, *i.e.* religion.'

But this is not patriotism: it might be the characteristic of an untravelled peasant, whether in Yorkshire or in Galilee; it has no reference to external countries in their relation with one's own. It is the virtue of a cat or a dog, but not the great sentiment that animated the ancient Israelites, the sentiment whose office it is to uphold the honour of one's own land against all comers; that which makes a man righteously jealous of the distinction of being a Frenchman, an American, a Russian, or a Briton; to shape his morals accordingly, and, if necessary, to sacrifice life itself for the good of his country.

The Syrian Moslems, the peasant majority (called by the distinctive term of Fellahheen) have a bond of union in their religion of Islâm, shared indeed with the Turks and in some degree with the Persians.

But this is no more than the sentiment with which a Roman Catholic of Europe fraternises with one of another continent; this would not preclude the French Roman Catholic nation from hostilities with the alien Italians, Austrians, Spaniards, or Brazilians.

The Fellahheen of Palestine have their clannish factions, which, for want of roads and carriages, are confined within narrow circuits; but the people have no knowledge of other portions of even the same small country. The different districts have absolutely no dealings with each other.

Only they agree in detesting the name and character of their Ottoman governors, to whom they are nevertheless usually submissive, for they are a law-abiding people.

Travellers have often reported in their published journals that the rural population of Palestine have been heard to express a longing for Christian conquest of the country. And there is truth in this. But the writers have not often understood the words in the sense intended by the speakers.

From long experience, I am persuaded that it is not their wish to become Christians, where they are not so already, or to become French or other European subjects. Their meaning is that, knowing their own rulers to be often corrupt and unjust in the extreme—from which failings they at sundry times have to smart and writhe—while they hear of Christian European governments being, in contrast, faithful and merciful as well as strong for repression of disorders, their hearts groan, and the utterance escapes them: 'When will the Christians come (as it is foretold they are some day to come) and deliver us from this oppression?'

And this is felt as much by the trading townsmen as by the peasantry of the villages, for who that has experienced the difference would not gladly exchange for the equity of a consular court the bribery, the partiality, and the uncertainty of a Kâdi's Mehhkameh?

The native Mohammedans in the towns feel this, but much more the Christians, who in their several sects all look up to some European power as their appropriate patron and defender. The time, however, is not come for such a deliverance as they expect, each one looking

for something different according to his special point of view.

Under the present circumstances of the world, a better object of desire for Turkish subjects and for friendly nations to labour at would be the regeneration of Turkish morals, or, at any rate, of discipline and of executive government. The process may be slow, but amelioration is possible. And thus only may be averted the inevitable tyranny over other Christians, should any one sect get the upper hand.

As might be expected, some curious incidents came to notice during the period under consideration, which throw light upon the condition of the people. We have spoken of the Pashà and of principal men among the natives of Jerusalem resorting to astrology as a means of forecasting the probable issue of the present war.

Among the credulous and ignorant villagers there were pretenders to the working of wonders, impostors giving out themselves to be some great personage. In our neighbourhood there was a Shaikh who, being able to read and write, and having some insight into character, with much shrewdness and a rude species of eloquence persuaded the people that, whenever he pleased, he by miraculous means visited the operations of the Sebastopol siege by night and performed prodigies of valour there. He used to produce incontrovertible evidence of the same —his spear head still wet with Russian blood of the victims he had slain!

As a specimen, too, of the narrow circle within which the rural mind was ever confined, it so happened that on one of my journeys we halted at the spring of the ruined

Khân at Lubbân (Lebonah, south of Nabloos), when a woman of the village, coming up with her jar for water, rested also, and inquired how the war was going on. We replied by giving some details of the operations in the Crimea, which she did not seem at all to comprehend; but after some minutes' silence screamed out, 'That is not what I want to know; but has Kâsim el Ahmed joined with the Tokân or with Abdu 'l Hâdi?' In short, her whole world was limited to the Jebel Nabloos (Mountains of Nabloos), and her idea of war embraced only the party dissensions in which her village and her relations were likely to be involved.

Among that class of population the Russians were utterly unknown, and the people felt severely the burden of novel exactions added to the former taxes, for support of a war in which they could not understand themselves to have any interest.

But they were loyal to the Sultan and the cause of Islâm, and quite ready to fight for him and for it on their own mountains, but not willing to leave their land and join the army. They had a vague idea of approaching possible invasion; they were ready to repel the Sultan's enemies, or rather the enemies of Islâm, as well as they could.

The 'Fellahheen,' or common peasantry of Palestine, are human beings existing in a very low social condition approaching nearly to barbarism.

Their food (chiefly vegetable, including fruit and bread and sometimes rice, with water to drink) and their clothing, are so cheaply procured that heavy and sustained labour is unnecessary for their support.

Leisure is thus afforded for carrying on their mutual hostilities.

It may also be said of their wretched dwellings (even when strongly built of stone) and of their scanty furniture, that they cost little or nothing. They can work, and do work with primitive and clumsy tools; but the soil is rich, the climate genial, the crops abundant. There is no drinking among the people; and pauperism, as we understand it, is unknown. The proceeds of their industry are in great part absorbed in the government taxes, which have first to pass through the rapacious hands of their own immediate chiefs; they themselves, not knowing how to read or write, are unable to keep accounts. Then they provide rough silver ornaments in considerable quantities for their women. (In Bethlehem the women have almost entirely discarded silver and wear gold.) They also hoard money, burying it in the ground, where it often remains when they die, for they trust the secret of the hiding-place to none, whether brother, or wife, or child.

Wholly without education, such leisure as they have can only be spent in the unintellectual way of lying on the ground, with faces either turned up to the sun, or wrapped up (the face only visible) in their thick striped cloak, the *Abai*. Those of the grade of village elders have the privilege of sitting together with the Shaikh, in the cooler evening time, for consultation upon the ancient dunghill of centuries' accumulation close to the houses of the village (instead of being scattered over the field for manure), or at the village threshing-floor during harvest; or, when winter draws on, in the building which serves for public

guest chamber for wayfarers and for Mosque. They are freehold owners of their lands and houses. Feudal tenure and feudal responsibility are not known beyond the Lebanon, even if those terms are properly applicable there. With us in the South the rural relations are clannish; young and old men are bound by their system to be ready, without reason or thought, for hostilities, at the bidding of their leaders, the Shaikhs; no more at liberty to refuse or delay than the Highlanders at the summons of Roderick Dhu's fiery cross, or the Irish Septs at the circulation of the lighted turf sod. Indeed, a corresponding mode of call to action is used among them —that of a newly-baked cake of bread passing from village to village. Beacon fires, of course, are employed where needed and useful.

Their warfare results in no inconsiderable amount of bloodshed, though generally few lives are lost at a time; their campaigns are of protracted duration, and sometimes one battle will occupy two or three days, in the fashion of the Red Indians of America.

Sometimes whole villages are demolished to the ground; in anticipation of such conclusions I have known people to destroy their own villages and cut down their flourishing fruit-trees, and so the place becomes deserted.

The spectator, however, of such a desolation has no remembrance of past civilisation to ruminate upon. A lonely widow may perhaps be seen picking a scanty subsistence of cresses from the runnel of the village spring, which she carries away to her present abode in some village of the same clan (the land is not given up, though

the village be destroyed); but that deserted village never knew the schoolmaster of 'Sweet Auburn, loveliest of the village train,' or the parson whom 'children followed with endearing wile,' for

> 'The sound of the church-going bell
> Those valleys and rocks never heard.'

No, nor in a majority of cases, not even a call to Mohammedan prayers.

The peasants live, I will not say without God in the world, for they have an abiding sense of a living God, and of Mohammed, his supposed apostle, and a certain humanity of conduct, when not under the stimulus of bloody excitement, mingled with some strange superstitions or practices, the remnants of ancient heathenism, and in these things they certainly are elevated above their own cattle in the field. But they are deplorably ignorant, and in some places even brutish. It is very rare to find one who knows how to read or write. Their knowledge of the outer world is therefore restricted to what rumour tells them. Those around Jerusalem gather up news on the Friday, when they come in for the weekly market and to attend the Mosque prayers in the Hharâm. Knowing little or nothing of Mohammedanism, they nevertheless are careful to observe this custom, and to keep the principal festivals. We had now and then an instance of one of them going on pilgrimage to Mecca, with other pilgrims from the country round.

The pilgrims who had gone to Mecca this year returned to Jerusalem in November. The procession was an interesting sight as they came towards the city from the south. Their friends went out to meet and escort

them home with scarlet flags belonging to the Mosque, and with music. There were also long lines of white-sheeted women.

The procession ascended the steep southern slope of Zion to the Neby Daood Sanctuary, the Tomb of David, where they went to pray, and from thence they proceeded to the Temple Sanctuary on Moriah for prayers before going home.

The Moslem quarters of the city had been illuminated a few nights before, according to custom, for joy on receiving news that the pilgrims had safely reached Hebron. The number of Hajjis from the Jerusalem district had this year been twenty, and one of them belonged to the village of Siloam. But the Fellahheen, though ignorant, are intelligent, and have considerable capability of improvement, and an immense fund of shrewdness and native humour. The children learn rapidly when gathered under European schoolmasters.

For my own part, I always felt more sympathy with their good qualities and their dormant faculties, susceptible of good development, than with the luxury, the falsehood, and the execrable vices of Turks and Effendis in cities.

This is not the place for enlarging upon the idea which gradually impressed itself upon us—that the Fellahheen of Palestine are the relics of the ancient Canaanitish nations.[1]

Their peculiar language, in many respects differing

[1] This idea has since been taken up by other investigators into the ethnology of Palestine, among others by M. Clermont-Ganneau, by Captain Warren, and Lieut. Conder of the Palestine Exploration Survey.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

from pure Arabic; their manners, customs, traditions, ethnological characteristics, geographical position, and history (meagre as is the latter) led us irresistibly to the conclusion above mentioned that these Fellahheen ('ploughmen,' or peasantry) are indeed the lineal descendants of Canaan, the grandson of Noah.

The Bedaween of the deserts scarcely came within our scope of contemplation, inasmuch as they neither contributed in any way towards the burdens of the Russian war, nor felt any of its results. Flights of locusts are they, living on the labour of others (if they sow corn at all, it is done by their slaves), and defying the control of any such regular government as ever comes in contact with them.

The ancient Romans and the later Crusaders did not subdue them; they merely drove them back to the deserts. These wild Arabs have now encroached far upon civilisation, and have turned rich and prosperous countries into wildernesses, suited to their habits of life and enjoyment. We may leave them to their ancient pride as expressed in the proverb:

> The townsman is the table of the world.
> The peasant is the ass of the world.
> The Bedawi is the lord of the world.

They came when the corn was green and overran the crops, and when summoned by one faction or other, they took part in the clan warfare. To us Europeans they were ever courteous and hospitable, when we travelled through their territory in the character of their guests for the time being, during which our lives and property were held sacred.

We came into contact in this way with the small tribes between Jerusalem and the Jordan; with the semi-wild Ta'amra between Bethlehem and the Dead Sea as far as Engeddi; with the Jehhaleen, between Hebron and Petra; with the great tribe of Tiyâhah south of Gaza; with the Suwalki, north of these; with the Abu Kishk, on the plain of Sharon. The trans-Jordanic tribes were met by us either on the great plain of Esdraelon when they were called in to fight on either side by the Nabloos factions, or when they came over for pasture among the standing corn crops or in the Jordan Valley. These tribes were the Beni Sakh'r, the Anezi, the Adwân, and a number of smaller petty tribes, always more troublesome to deal with, more given to petty pilfering, and not so easily brought to account.

But this year had seen far less of the wild tribes near Jerusalem than the year before, when they had been called in to join the factions of Abu Gosh and Othmân el Lehhâm, and when their marauding expeditions threatened to become a very serious evil.

Even the slight increase of vigour shown in Kiamil Pashà's government had its wholesome influence over the desert Arabs as over the village factions. The wild tribes rarely venture within closely cultivated or well peopled districts. But the greater part of Palestine is not well peopled.

The prophecies of Holy Scripture that the land should become void of inhabitants are fulfilled in every direction; even in the best settled portions there remain only just so many of the people as serve to hold the land in possession, to keep up the existence of the

country among the nations, to supply names for geography, to afford a petty revenue to its temporary rulers, the Osmanli Turks. The land which, in the age of Strabo, counted its ten millions of inhabitants now hardly possesses one million and a half.

Yet it is a land which, in districts where labour can be had and where it is not impeded, still shows by its exuberant fertility and beauty how true is the description of it given in the Bible, as well as in Tacitus, Strabo, and other such writers of olden time, unacquainted with it in its modern aspect under misrule.

Mohammedan religion and Turkish misgovernment have degraded Palestine to its present state, and depopulation is even now advancing, the state in this respect being different from what it was within the memory of ourselves and our immediate fathers.

To reflecting Europeans it was a subject for serious consideration, whenever intestine quarrels arrayed the peasantry, the very substance of the nation (as far as Palestine is concerned), in mutual hostilities; for, should those quarrels once overpass the resources of the Osmanli Government to suppress them, should Europeans in a panic abandon the country, and the population be further diminished to some appreciable extent, a vacuum would then be created which would furnish occasion for external matter to rush in and replenish the void, not merely on the ground of preventing the land from becoming a depopulated province—for Asia Minor is that—but because it is Palestine, and contains Jerusalem.

Occasionally the Pashàs issued proclamations for disarming the peasantry of their long brass ferruled guns;

but who could enforce the order? Within sight of the city for a few days there was outward obedience; but at a distance the proclamation was a jest. Then again a sort of galvanic revival of threats might ensue, and the leaders of rural factions would be temporarily confined within the walls of Jerusalem, as a kind of hostage for their people being disarmed, the effect of which was that the guns were buried in the dry soil of the fields, so long as a Bashi-bozuk visitor was near, but were dug up again when his back was turned. Indeed, it was often a subject of wonder how these weapons, rude in their fabrication, came to increase in number; the people themselves are unable to manufacture them. They believed that they were imported through the eastern deserts by the Bedaween from Persia; but Persia ('Ajam) is a term often used for any distant unknown country, and many persons were of opinion that these weapons of 'Ajam were made (rudely on purpose for sale) in lands on one side or other of the Lower Rhine; perhaps on both; not at this period only of which we are speaking, but at any time.

The peasantry never submitted to be deprived of the short sword called *khanjar*, at their side.

During such a crisis abroad as the present war, and with so much debility of administration among us, it was truly a matter of wonder how the country maintained its due amount of cohesion.

The peasantry never loved the Turks, quite the contrary, though they were loyal to the Sultan, and the Turks were aware of their sentiments towards them.

The natives were often heard to affirm that if they (the Arabic-speaking population of Palestine) could but suppress their own dissensions, and unite under one leader, they were able to drive away the Turks from their presence with sticks and stones. At that time it would probably have been feasible; but the Turks felt no apprehensions on that subject; they relied for security, first, on divine predestination, and, secondly, on their own tactics of promoting division in every faction, town, or family, while those who were favoured with comparatively larger views of the world's affairs, from having seen and shared in them in other countries, were not without dependence upon the aid of European Powers, who have an interest in keeping up the integrity of Turkey.

This sort of countenance of Turkey, to say the least of it, by European Powers, was represented by those Consuls on the spot, who could, in case of extremity, call up military aid from without. Some would talk of bringing in French troops to keep the peace in Palestine. Others, dreading the increase of French ascendancy, talked of Egyptian troops; others would have preferred Italian or Austrian garrisons. But the Turkish Government held its own under all disadvantages.

Turkish government, in its outward framework, sometimes reminds one of the Roman at the commencement of the Christian era. The Pashà is the Governor, often more irresponsible than Pontius Pilate was. The Bin-Bashi, Commandant of the troops, corresponds to the 'Chiliarch,' or chief captain in the Acts of the Apostles, and the Yuz-Bashi to the 'Centurion' of old.

There is, however, this difference always between the

two dominions, that, whereas the Romans made roads, bridges, and harbours wherever their footsteps fell, Turkish *régime* is a mere machine for collecting money, while systematically neglecting to improve the comfort or resources of the country, doing and giving nothing in return for what they exact. It is barely strong enough for collecting its own revenue, and utterly inadequate to defend the people from themselves or from the wild hordes around, whereas upon all sound principles taxation and protection ought to be correlative between the suzerain and the subjects.

But here even the resident natives deprecated the very idea of government spending money on roads and harbours.

The peasantry would have resented intrusion into their districts. The townspeople applauded, for other reasons, the policy of leaving things as they were. The actual state of things can hardly be better represented than in the reply once received after our deploring the condition of the seaports, without a pier or even a jetty along our whole Mediterranean seaboard, and we had also spoken of the need of a second gate to the busy port of Jaffa, and of the bad roads, with the absence of any wheeled carriages throughout Syria. 'But,' said Effendi—(not a Turk, but one of the Arab city notables), 'we do this on principle. When I have money to spare I lay it out on a house, a slave, a diamond, a fine mare, or a wife; but I do not make a road up to that object in order to invite strangers to come that way. Now Jerusalem is the jewel after which all the Europeans are greedy; why should we facilitate an access to the prize they aim at?'

The Armenian Patriarch was one day conversing with me on the absence of roads and the consequent increase to the difficulties of pilgrims to the Holy City. His Holiness referred to the reason given above for not making roads, lest they should give enemies access to the coveted prize, Jerusalem, and then added, 'But what fools these people are! Do they not know that the English are so clever that, if you wanted to take Jerusalem, you wouldn't be prevented by want of a road for bringing up your cannon, for you have nothing to do but to put them in balloons, and so bring them over the highest mountains?'

CHAPTER XXIV.

MAKING PEACE AND SAVING LIFE.

War again between 'Othmân el Lehhâm and the South-Western villages—The Kawwâs sent to inquire brought home proofs of cruel slaughter—Deep snow on the ground—All cultivation suspended during the fighting throughout January—Early in February, news being worse, the Consul goes there himself—Sowing season almost at an end—Arrival at Shocoh—Reception by 300 armed men at Bait Nateef—Complaints of the women of 'Othmân el Lehhâm's cruelties—Night scene—Conference with the Shaikhs—Mohammed 'Attalah and his people about to storm Bait 'Atâb—Advantages of prompt and fearless measures—Daybreak—March of the army—Consul followed to urge suspension of hostilities—Abu Gosh and his people found to be present and involved—Abu Gosh in possession of Bait Atâb—and 'Othmân el Lehhâm a prisoner in his own house—Scene at the Council—A man's life saved—Consul proposes to Abu Gosh measures for stopping the bloodshed—and a Truce for two months to give time for ploughing and sowing—Council of War in an unfinished house—Truce concluded and delivered to the Consul—Release of the sheep and goats for pasture—Sowing and ploughing—Ride back to Jerusalem after thirty hours' absence—Ferment still among other village factions—Villages ruined—Incident at Urtas—Escape for life to refuge within house of British subject—Mediations for peace—Kiamil Pashà's arrival—French Consul's intervention among the village Shaikhs.

We had now had a tolerably quiet period of nearly twelve months, during which the peasant fightings near Jerusalem had been restrained, chiefly by the fact that our late Pashà Yakoob had been a man of some weight, and that the Jerusalem garrison was in an efficient condition.

But troubles had been brewing for some time past, and we knew that the quiet would not last much longer.

It is not, however, usual for the peasantry to break into warfare during sowing time in the winter; nor, indeed, until after harvest has been pretty well got in.

This winter, however, there was much uneasiness in the south-west districts, and by January 4th, 1855, hostilities were announced as having broken out in the Belâd Arkoob—between Bait Nateef, with its minor villages, and Bait 'Atâb, the capital of 'Othmân Lehhâm —but the immediate cause was as yet unknown. (All were Moslems.)

At my instance the Pashà, new in his office (and but little accustomed to such turbulent folk as our mountaineers), despatched thither a small force of Bashi-Bozuk, commanded by the Bairakdâr (the 'standard bearer' of the province). He was a moderate man, who had been for several years in the country, and knew it well, and with him I sent a kawwâs to watch proceedings.

Four days afterwards the Pashà came to me for consultation about these matters, informing me only that they were growing worse and worse, notwithstanding the severity of the season, for there was deep snow on the ground. To this state of the weather he attributed the slowness of the information received from the disturbed districts.

On the 10th my kawwâs, whom I had sent for exact information, returned with a report that considerable slaughter had taken place in an assault made by the opposite faction upon Bait Nateef, and that the 'Arkoobites had treated the corpses of both men and women with acts of unspeakable atrocity, the Government Bashi-Bozuk not only doing nothing, but keeping themselves

far aloof from the scene of conflict. These things had occurred before his arrival on the spot. On the aggressors denying that lives had been lost, or outrages committed, my man had had the snow dug up and found the mutilated bodies. Some of their blood-dyed clothes he had also induced the relatives of the victims to bring to Jerusalem as evidence of the transactions.

By my directions he went down to the Seraglio, and had these tokens spread out before the Pashà's eyes. Thus, and thus only, was proof brought to bear upon the fact that serious disturbances, with loss of life and great cruelties, were going on within a few hours of Jerusalem.

His Excellency then issued an authoritative summons to the leaders on both sides to appear in the city and *discuss* their affairs before the Mejlis (Town Council)—a proclamation only fitted to provoke laughter.

Abu Gosh even, although he was not one of the parties overtly in action, refused to appear, unless under the protection of *Amân wa rai*, or Pashà's safe-conduct, for return, to be guaranteed by the English Consul; but this I refused at the time, considering that such an answer was disrespectful to the constituted authority. And yet Abu Gosh was not without some justification, for he had in memory a trick by which a former Pashà had entrapped the chiefs of his and certain other clans after feasting with them. Meanwhile the cry was becoming general in the district at the disastrous fact of rich lands lying uncultivated, while the season for ploughing and sowing was rapidly passing away. This would, of course, entail the deepest distress upon those parts, and we had already in the last winter seen enough of the effects of

dearth in the country; now the evil passions of a few leaders were bringing starvation upon the populations subject to their control. And this had been going on for more than a month.

I heard no more from the troubled district till February 2nd, when, from fresh and very serious intelligence received, I resolved to repair thither myself, in order to witness the true state of affairs, and, if possible, promote peace, should any way be opened for doing so. There were only two weeks left of the precious sowing season, and if these were wasted in fighting, famine must follow for the whole district.

Without any luggage whatever (and in less than an hour from hearing of the outrages which were being committed), I rode away, attended by a dragoman and two of my own kawwâses, also by two men of the Bashi-Bozuks, with their officer, Shâkir Aga, on the part of the Turkish Government.

We went as rapidly and secretly as possible towards Bait 'Atâb, so as to be beforehand of any intelligence that could be sent from 'Abdallah Wafa Effendi to his *protégés*, the 'Othmân Lehhâm faction at the same place. It must not be forgotten that the Moslem notables of Jerusalem, called Effendis, were always involved in these peasant factions, each of which had one or more patrons among the Effendis. The latter were not seldom the wire-pullers of the movements among the village clans, aiding and abetting their own particular clients. These Effendis, who were at the same time members of the Jerusalem Mejlis, or Council, could intrigue in town as well as in country, and some of them were known to be

in communication with foreign Powers, whose interests or wishes they were willing to promote for a sufficient consideration. The natives used to style Effendi so-and-so a Greek, another a Frenchman, and so on, Moslems though they all were, according to the cause severally espoused by them.

The Pashà, a Turk, generally ignorant of their language, was powerless against machinations, unless he could find some one to give him at least correct information as to what was going on.

A little beyond El Khudd'r (south-west of Bethlehem and about nine miles from Jerusalem), a man and two women told us that Abu Gosh was in Dair Abân, further south-west, besieged by 'Othmân el Lehhâm—an incomprehensible story; in consequence of this, however, it seemed advisable to proceed in this new direction, but, losing our way upon a mere wilderness in the dusk of the evening, we arrived by moonlight unintentionally at *Sh'waikeh* (the Shocoh of 1 Sam. xvii.), now a deserted place near the rival village of Bait Nateef, one on either side of the Vale of Elah. These informants on the road were the only human beings that we had seen all the distance from near Jerusalem.

It would have been useless to go further that night: so, ascending the rough hill to Bait Nateef, we found ourselves in presence of about 300 armed men, who fired a *feu de joie* for our welcome. Of course all the guns were charged with their big, ugly-shaped bullets, and therefore made the louder noise.

We had been formerly shown by some of our Fellahh acquaintance how these bullets were cast. The lead

being melted, ready in an iron spoon, the mould was prepared by the man sticking his finger down into the dry earth (out on the hill-side), and the lead was poured in and left to cool. A rough wedge was thus produced, which was *bitten* or chopped into bits small enough to be rammed into the guns. It may be imagined what ugly projectiles bullets thus made and shaped would be, and what manner of wounds they would inflict.

On dismounting we were received by two fine old men, but before reaching the house we were surrounded by the women of the place, remonstrating against any attempts being made to promote peace, demanding why we should suffer their husbands and sons to be butchered (endubb'hhu) without revenge being taken on the monster 'Othmân el Lehhâm.

It was a wild scene on a cold moonlight night. The two old men (one named Mansoor Debsi, of whom we had more to learn afterwards) took us into their rude house, without any more windows than one square hole in the wall, and certainly without a chimney; for when the people set about making a fire with a few sticks, this only apartment was so filled with the smoke that it became necessary to entreat them to desist. Yet this is the only kind of house to which such folk are accustomed. It was, however, stone-built, like the rest in the place. A cow was our fellow-lodger there. Pillows and cloaks were provided from other houses, and we took our places on the raised *mustabah*, or dais.

On being told by the people that their Shaikh, Mohammed 'Attalah, was absent at Dair Abân, and that he was in glee at having had five villages surrendered to him

that day without fighting, I sent him an invitation to a conference. Then, after some food from our saddle-bags, and after the Aga had got the rations of barley for the horses of his party, as well as a good supper for himself and his men, we betook ourselves to sleep, and so remained till about two in the morning, when I was awakened with the intelligence of Mohammed 'Attalah's arrival, and at the same time a reinforcement of 150 men on his side from Bait Jibreen (some hours further south, and thus it was evident that the mischief was already pretty wide-spread, and that a large district was up in arms).

The Shaikh being called in, stated that the five villages who had now joined him had done so purely out of good-will to himself, and partly out of disgust at the tyranny of 'Othmân, but partly also from having learned that Abu Gosh had thrown his weight into the scale in his favour. They were now, therefore, about to march upon Bait Atâb (the capital of 'Othmân el Lehhâm's territory and seat of his rule), and take it by storm.

To this I objected, urging that at so advanced a season of the year it was of far greater importance to get the land sown with corn, for it was a fearful thing to leave so fine a district untilled. I advised him rather (what else could a peace-maker suggest?) to return to Dair Abân, and induce the allies to suspend operations till after the ploughing and sowing were ended, for which the season was almost over and nothing done yet.

We all retired for a few hours' more sleep, I intending to go by first daylight to argue in the same sense with 'Othmân el Lehhâm.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

'Othmân el Lehhâm was the leader on the opposite side. Can anything be stranger than the scene here indicated rather than described? The conference, in a distant town, or rather village, at two o'clock in the morning, amid the snows of winter, between the Shaikh (hastily arrived from a distance, he and his fighting men all armed and eager for fight, and all the country up), and the English Consul with his little retinue and escort come for the purpose of calming the excited passions of the combatants, trusting himself among them in the very hour of preparation for a fresh struggle, and there in the night surrounded by the armed crowds and the enraged women, quietly setting forth the evils of fighting, and advising suspension of hostilities, and return to the sowing of corn in their deserted fields.

None could have thus ventured life and safety among these people who was not known and respected far and wide as a lover of impartial justice, who would take any amount of trouble to hear both sides, sift out the truth, and promote peace and the real interests of all. For who could have helped the little party from Jerusalem if these rough Moslem Shaikhs and their people had taken the visit in ill part, and had resented the interference?

The quiet fearlessness with which the British Consul was accustomed to go about in the country gave him an immense advantage in dealing with these people, who could and did appreciate high courage and undaunted energy. The very fact of the sudden arrival from Jerusalem, by forced march, before anyone could come with previous notice, had its effect, as agreeing with many another instance in which Mr. Finn was known to have arrived where his presence might be useful, before men were aware that the news had even reached him of what was going on.

By twilight in the morning, however, I was roused by hearing the low talking of a crowd before the door, which

suddenly ceased, and was succeeded by a continued fluttering and rustling of flowing garments all leaving as in one direction—no voices heard near us, only a few occasional shouts at a distance: rush, rush, rush, continued the sound; and when I got to the door, the people were all seen making their way north-eastwards on the way to Dair Abân and Bait Atâb (the latter 'Othmân Lehhâm's capital); few horsemen were left, most of the men having already started, and the women thronged about us entreating to let 'Othmân be punished for the slaughtering of their people.

On inquiring for Mohammed 'Attalah, they said he was asleep, but he was summoned forth and our horses got ready. We left the village together, following the combatants, he for Dair Abân (his own head-quarters), and we for Bait Atâb (head-quarters of his antagonists).—As our road lay for some time together, we tried lecturing, persuading, and threatening for the object of obtaining a suspension of hostilities (in this, however, Shâkir Aga, the officer of Bashi-Bozuk, maintained his dignity by stubborn silence, neither lecturing, nor persuading, nor threatening). Mohammed 'Attalah only urged the difficulty of his restraining so large a force of men, all well armed, who had had their homes invaded twice within a month, and immediate relatives killed, attended by horrible circumstances, such as having their throats cut after being shot, or their bowels burnt out with gunpowder, and other atrocities.

On separating I furnished him with a kawwâs at his own request, for safeguard in case of his being set upon

by the enemy, as he had now none of his own men with him, also to assist in any means of promoting peace.

I rode forward over the wild hills by sunrise, amid the freshness of reviving nature and the song of birds, telling of better things than the unbridled passions of man in the business on which we were engaged.

After some time we overtook about a dozen women and one armed man advancing in our direction; the women sat down on the rocky ground, and, raising their right hands, exclaimed, 'God Almighty assist you!' Perhaps they did, or perhaps they did not, understand the object of our mission. At a hundred yards further on we came up to a band of men posted on the crest of a rising ground directly facing Bait Atâb; when these came in sight they told us of a similar outpost which we should find close to the village, and said that would be composed of Abu Gosh men (so that Abu Gosh people were really on the scene of action). On arriving at this post, and finding half the fellows in open sight, and half crouching behind a temporary parapet or breastwork of loose stones, so near to the village that we could see the flat tops of the houses crowded with armed men, and hear their loud shouting, it seemed very strange, until the circumstances were explained by a youth on horseback, who rode up and announced himself as a son of Haj Mustafa Abu Gosh, and who informed us that Abu Gosh was now in possession of the town. 'Bait Atâb,' he said, had 'surrendered without resistance on being suddenly invested before daylight.'

Under his escort we entered the place, and he conducted us to the Council of Chiefs or Elders, which was

held in a large dark room, but this seemed so uncomfortable a place that we moved into another house.

It was a strange scene through which we passed. The village stands on the summit of a hill higher than the hills which surround it, on every side except one, namely, the West, which is open, and gives a noble view down upon the Wady Surâr, and reaching across the Philistine plain to the River Rubîn and the sea coast; every house and every terrace was in possession of victors, screaming for joy and popping off musketry; the conquered were few to be seen, sad and dejected; their women were all concealed, and their guns taken and piled together in a house by themselves.

The stirring events hardly allowed me to think of the magnificent landscape and view of the Mediterranean before us, and the wind was rising in stormy force from the sea.

We got into a better room—not much better—and the long train of elders, etc., came in also. Among them was 'Othmân el Lehhâm. Within this council chamber the scene partook of the gravity of the event. Long pipes and sherbet were, of course, in requisition. But at the very door, the last seat of all, sat the defeated 'Othmân, a captive in his own house. He was, however, treated with silent respect, and there seemed no disposition to add insult to his reverses. I observed the whole assembly, smoking, of course, their not very fashionable pipes, serious and grave, none of them upbraiding the fallen 'Othmân.

After being introduced to the highest place among the company, and after the performance of ceremonial

salutations was ended, I went down to converse quietly with 'Othmân el Lehhâm, who had in former years been on friendly terms with the French and English Consulates—especially the former—and got him to relate between ourselves his version of the recent transactions.

His account was that, on learning at last how strong was the combination against him, and after his ally, Mohammed 'Abd en Neby, had abandoned him with his hundred followers during the night, he had surrendered himself in the night to Abu Gosh, between whom and himself there had been formerly an alliance, besides the consideration that they were both of the *Yemeni* faction, or rural party, and that in consequence the young Mohammed, son of Haj Mustafa Abu Gosh, had preserved all their lives and property from every injury (even in the first moment and flush of victory).

This was the youth who had met us on the road and brought us into the village.

'Othmân el Lehhâm looked greatly dejected, and when we observed to him that since Mohammed 'Abd en Neby had forsaken him, he had no friend left, he stood up on the floor, and swore with piteous emphasis, 'By God, I have not one friend remaining!'

We charged him with having himself broken the truce made in the Mejlis of Jerusalem on December 3, on which he swore by that most vehement and binding of Moslem oaths, 'the divorce of his wife,' that it was untrue, and I did not think it proper to discuss that matter further with him under the circumstances.

After about an hour, we heard from the people perambulating on the terrace that the allies were coming

up in force from Dair Abân; and, on looking out, I saw companies of men advancing up the Wadi Surâr (Valley of Surâr). At the same time firing was heard at a village close under us, called 'Alar, belonging to the vanquished 'Othmân; it proved to be that his people of that village were firing upon the allies as they passed, not choosing to recognise the surrender of Bait Atâb until it should be notified to them by 'Othmân himself, and this had not been done. So I got one of the Abu Gosh men to ride down and stop the firing, by giving the formal notice from 'Othmân of his surrender, and he was accompanied by an unarmed messenger from 'Othmân himself.

In a few minutes more we heard other shots fired; these were from the allies, pursuing one of their assailants, singling him out from the rest for killing, and chasing him over rocks and bushes. I immediately got another of the Abu Gosh men to stop this business also; but it was an anxious space of about a quarter of an hour, as the dropping shots continued in irregular pursuit of the individual man, until they ceased.

On rising from the council chamber (in the deliberations of which I took no part) we had a broad prospect from the terrace of companies of horsemen in succession, galloping abreast up the green breadth of Wadi Surâr—the first company headed by Mohammed 'Attalah—with whom was my kawwâs. The spectacle was exciting, and soon became even more so, when some one having mentioned that Mansoor Debsi (one of the two old men met the previous evening at Bait Nateef) was among them, 'Othmân el Lehhâm rose in a fury (great, square-built,

bull-necked man as he was), stamped and swore that that man should never enter Bait Atâb while he was living.

On some of his friends getting round him and drawing him aside into the room, I, without having been asked to do so, induced the victorious party to arrange that not one of the allies should come up to us or enter, but that the place should be held and garrisoned solely by those to whom it had surrendered. This was undoubtedly necessary, for the new comers were in the first excitement of victory, and they had all personal claims of revenge to be satisfied for the cruelties committed on them and their families, whereas the actual occupiers—of the Abu Gosh clan—had no actual injuries to avenge. My second kawwâs being sent down had checked their ingress. Probably even young Mohammed Abu Gosh and his people could not have restrained the people much longer after the arrival of the others. I had twice sent messengers to Dair Abân to call up *the* Abu Gosh (Haj Mustafa) to come up to the council.

After nearly another hour he came.

On his entrance all the company rose to receive him, and, after his own relations, the next person to salute him was 'Othmân, who then retired, and with his son resumed the humble place near the door.

In a whispered consultation with Haj Mustafa Abu Gosh I urged two things:—1. That the exasperated allies should not enter the village. 2. That a truce be made for two months. The first he accordingly proclaimed at once (thus giving room to hope that there would be no immediate slaughter), and, with respect to the second, proposed that all present (except 'Othmân and his family)

should go down the hill to a tree, or some such meeting-place outside the village, for drawing up the terms with the allies—in short, to talk over the whole business freely.

We accordingly descended, and assembled within the wall, not yet roofed over, of a house in process of erection. The wind being strong, we took the most protected side; boys, idlers, and slaves, who had perched over our heads, were pelted away with pebbles by the retainers. I sat by on a stone; a circle was formed, seated on the ground, within another circle standing, and a third again beyond, of mere spectators—the two latter not entitled to speak, as the discussion was limited to the leaders in the inmost circle. The proceedings were conducted with much decorum — none of the parlementarians being in haste to interrupt another. Who would ever think of such a thing among Orientals in a deliberative assembly? All were armed.

The object of the meeting was to arrange terms for a truce, 'Atweh, during the remainder of the ploughing season. The only voice against it was that of old Mansoor Debsi, who had lost two sons and seven other relatives in this late invasion by 'Othmân el Lehhâm; and his opposition was a point of no small importance, seeing that, as I was informed, if no truce exists, no blood-fine can ever be accepted, but the only law is then 'head for head,'—*i.e.*, life for life. The poor old man was eager to insist on vengeance for the slain, and to claim life for theirs, and this is considered among the Fellahheen far nobler at all times than the acceptance of the blood-fine.

After a long argumentation Mansoor Debsi con-

sented to the public agreement in a truce, but with the reserve that his family blood feud should still subsist as valid within the bounds of the family property. On the other side, an objection was maintained by Mustafa Melhham, a cousin of 'Othmân, but, by a dexterous mixture of persuasion and authority on the part of Abu Gosh, the details were arranged, and the whole council concurred in the principle of the truce.

A scribe present then drew up the document, which was accordingly sealed by those leaders who had spoken and voted, and it was sent up to 'Othmân el Lehhâm by my kawwâs to be ratified on his side; Mustafa Melhham, his cousin, promising to seal afterwards as guarantee (*kafeel*) for 'Othmân. The customs of the people require that there should be responsible sureties or guarantees, who are bound to see the engagement, whatever it may be that they have supported, or signed, carried out. Sometimes a man of high rank or standing will haughtily declare himself to be his own surety. His honour is then doubly engaged to fulfil his agreement to the letter.

While the document was then sent up to 'Othmân el Lehhâm, Abu Gosh pulled out and read aloud the letter from an Effendi in the Jerusalem Council, a very high official, calling upon 'Othmân, if he had the spirit of a man, to rise, kill, burn, destroy, etc.

The people were already well acquainted with its contents; and, therefore, though it was still *piquant* enough, they were not exasperated by it, more especially as 'Othmân had been so signally defeated. But it may well be doubted whether any truce or peaceable conclusion whatever would have been possible if the

Jerusalem intriguers had had time to be made acquainted with the progress of events.

The circles broke up, and, expecting no difficulty on the part of 'Othmân, I prepared to mount and ride away as soon as I should get it sealed.

At this time there must have been 500 men of the Abu Gosh, well armed, in Bait Atâb, besides 300 of the allies outside.

The document was confirmed and sealed and committed to my keeping, and I have it now before me while writing. The following is a translation of the same :—

The matter of the document and existence of the present writing the day of this certain date, and in presence of his lordship the English Consul Bek, and Hhaj Mustafa Abu Gosh. A truce has been taken between Mohammed 'Attalah and 'Othmân el Lehhâm—the people of Bait Nateef and the people of 'Ajoor; and they have taken a truce between the two parties from the beginning of Jomâdhi the first to the end of Jomâdhi the second. And nothing shall occur between the parties to change this covenant of truce—and the ploughers may go down northwards unto Wadi el Hhusân where they have been used to plough, and the Shaikhs of the house of Lehhâm shall not come down from Bait 'Atâb and the West. Also by virtue of this agreement Mohammed 'Attalah and 'Omar shall not enter Bait 'Atâb and thus there has come to pass reconciliation and concord; and it is agreed also that if Mohammed 'Abd en Nebi, or es Swaiteh or 'Ali Shaikhah [late allies of the vanquished 'Othmân] enter Bait 'Atâb the truce shall be annulled, and moreover Hhaj Mustafa Abu Gosh shall not come into the Belâd Arkoob, and if he comes there, the truce is annulled [this clause restrained Abu Gosh from pushing his present advantage during the truce].

And this truce shall be on the guarantee of Mustafa Melham for 'Othmân el Lehhâm—and for the part of Mohammed

'Attalah and Bait Nateef it will be on the guarantee of 'Omar 'Attalah.

Signed, 'Othmân el Lehhâm and his Surety Mustafa Melhham.	Signed, Mohammed 'Attalah and his Surety 'Omar 'Attalah.

This conclusion being arrived at, I was preparing to mount, leaving Abu Gosh to dismiss the smaller parties, and to keep 'Othmân in protection for a day or two from personal violence, when my striped *abbai* was found to be missing. A man was brought with it on his back. We took it from him, he innocently exclaiming, 'Do you think I am a thief?' His people would, however, have dealt summarily with him.

The last I saw of Bait 'Atâb, on riding off, was the pleasing release of the sheep and goats, bleating with satisfaction on emerging into open pasture, after having been shut up in the enclosures of the village houses for six days past.

The peasantry were now, therefore, at liberty to plough and sow their lands, and cheerfully to pronounce the universal prayer in doing so. While throwing the grain broadcast they exclaim, 'Feed us, O Lord, and all thy creatures!'

I rode on ahead of my party with one kawwâs, in haste to escape the rain, that was evidently coming on.

Over the hills among the Beni Malek, or Abu Gosh faction villages, parties of men were returning to their homes singing cheerily, a practice not usual in common peace time, only when their spirits are 'wound up.' Arriving near Bait Jala, we met companies of women,

trudging in haste with bundles on their heads, who told us they were escaping to Bethlehem from an apprehended attack of the Abu Gosh faction, under Ahhmed Eesa, upon their village of Bait Safâfa. Others, again, were near the Well of the Magi (so called by the Europeans, but Kadisma by the native people); they were carrying furniture from their village, and told us that 'Ali Shaikha ('Othmân's friend) had been driven out by Ahhmed Eesa, of Abu Gosh's side. So it was our comfort to inform them of the truce of Bait 'Atâb, in which Ali Shaikha was included. This, however, afforded them no immediate relief, for the firing was going on in their village as we passed along the Bethlehem plain. We could hear it as well as the shouts. It was raining, and night was coming on; so I hastened to the city to inform the Pashà of the war thus going on in the Hhassaniyeh villages so close to the city. We next saw horsemen escaping across the Plain of Rephaim towards Jerusalem. The foremost was judged by my attendant to be the Shaikh 'Ali Shaikha himself.

I just reached the city (after an absence of about thirty hours) at the closing of the gates for the evening, but had them kept open for my party coming up behind. One of them fell from his wearied horse near the gate on coming up and was considerably bruised.

These we afterwards learned had been fired upon by the people of the village of El Khudd'r near Solomon's Pools, and insulted by opprobrious epithets, under the impression that they were partisans in the warfare; but a man came running over the hills at the moment announcing the truce. On learning the mistake,

the Shaikh went to the opposite extreme, by sending me a message next morning apologising for his stupid people, whom he had only commissioned to fire a salute and invite the consul to a feast! thus fulfilling the Arabic proverb, 'How may you know a lie when you hear it?' Answer—'By the bigness of it.'

Two days afterwards, Abu Gosh went into the midst of the hostile village of Bait Jala and proclaimed the truce, offering his influence to keep the roads safe in every direction. The people were much pleased. On the same day, the French Consul, M. Botta, succeeded in having the chief of Bait Safâfa, Ali Shaikha, restored to his village.

But still for a considerable time longer the dissensions all around Jerusalem were not entirely laid to rest, for notwithstanding that the truce of Bait 'Atâb held the great leaders in restraint, hostilities continued between the rivals for rule in the petty village of Bait Safâfa, within sight of Jerusalem; these rivals were under the patronage of one or another of the great chiefs, 'Othmân el Lehhâm and Abu Gosh. Indeed the truce of Bait 'Atâb did not apply to this nearer group of villages, but only to the Belâd 'Arkoob where it was made, and to a particular matter of dispute. Here the quarrel was not the same, and their sowing season had been duly employed to advantage.

These nearer hostilities involved the villages of Malhha and Wellajeh, as being of the party called Beni Hhassan.

Houses were demolished and the inhabitants scattered abroad. The families of Bait Safâfa who sided with 'Ali

Shaikha, loitered about the Greek convents of Bethlehem, Mar Elias and the Mussalibeh (Convent of the Cross), while the partisans of the rival Ahhmed Eesa repaired to the village of Mâlhha. Mâlhha lies SW. of Jerusalem, and is the village described ch. xii. p. 353, as being near to our camp at the Talibiyeh.

During this wretched state of affairs, an incident occurred at the English farm of Urtâs, illustrative of the customs of the country. It will be remembered that Urtâs lies beyond Bethlehem, and is, therefore, on the edge of the disturbed districts, and near to the villages concerned, which lie on the NW., the W., and the SW. The truce had quieted the southern portion of this district, but Bait Safâfa on the NW. (SW. from Jerusalem), was now the centre of a feud in which the village was divided against itself, and in which Abu Gosh and Mohammed 'Attalah were both involved.

Khaleel, the brother, and several other relatives of the chief of Bait Safâfa ('Ali Shaikha), just saved their own lives by running for them. They reached and succeeded in entering the threshold of Meshullam's house, hotly pursued by a crowd of sanguinary rivals of their village, sword in hand, who were baulked of their prey. The intended victims barely succeeded 'in taking sanctuary' in the English farmhouse, one stumbling and falling across the threshold, but *into* the house, and thus saving his life by a few inches. Within the threshold he was safe, being the guest, and, therefore, *protégé* of his host. Even these men with their passions up, and swords drawn in hot pursuit, would not dare to violate the laws of hospitality, of which the others had succeeded in

gaining the benefit. Had the fugitives stumbled before reaching the house, or fallen outside the threshold, nothing could have saved them, for 'the avengers of blood were behind them,' but once across it, they were safe. Their escape was so narrow that Meshullam's native servant at the door was wounded by a sword cut, he being outside the threshold and in the path of the pursuers.

But they were effectually checked, and this without bolts or bars to lock, or even shut the open door, within which shelter and safety were certain.

To have violated this sanctuary would have been to affront, in the last degree, the honour of the host, and to oblige him (according to native code of right) to make common cause with the guests who had sought his protection, and to oblige him to avenge their blood had any of them been slain. To offend a British subject thus was, in those days, far indeed from the thoughts of any native in Palestine.

Meshullam's family were of course greatly frightened at the sudden incursion of these furious men (belonging to Ahhmed Eesa, all armed and clamouring for vengeance), and of their intended victims. They sent notice to me. But the lives of the fugitives were thus preserved.

As soon as it became safe to do so, they, and some children, boys of course, of the same family, who had also been placed in shelter in Meshullam's house, were transferred to the protection of one of the Moslem chiefs of Bethlehem, whence my kawwâs escorted them to Jerusalem and handed them over to the Turkish authorities.

All I could do for the restoration of peace was to

send a remonstrance from myself to both Abu Gosh and Mohammed 'Attalah; for where was the Turkish Government meanwhile?

The Bait Safâfa people, with their Shaikh—'Ali Shaikha, came to me in a day or two explaining that they did not return to their village, because they could not agree among themselves—one half the village having a feud with half the village of Mâlhha, and being also unwilling to have 'Ali over them. I lectured them all, and told them that in a short time the Sublime Government would be strong enough to put them all down, and allow none of their feuds or truces. Of course they all exclaimed that, please God, such was their desire!

Meantime I advised that as their enemy Ahhmed Eesa had left the place empty, each man should return to his home, leaving the Chief, 'Ali Shaikha, to stay in town if he chose, till the new Pashà—(for a new Pashà was announced to be on his way)—should decide his business. But, in a day or two after, being out for my afternoon ride, I found the Bait Safâfa peasants still hanging idle about Papas Joel, at the Convent of the Cross (West of Jerusalem), afraid to return home, and saying that the opposite faction occupied their village every night. On the 15th I rode over to inspect the village. It had been—not utterly demolished—for stone-built houses are not very easy to destroy; but the roofs had been pulled off, and there were no people there but a few old women—one of whom began cursing and swearing. My attendants did what they could to reassure this indignant personage.

At the neighbouring village of Sharafât, small and

perched on a high hill, I found the people unarmed, and expressing themselves happily exempt from the disorders below. They were a robust, well-fed people. I had never been there before. These two villages—Bait Safâfa and Sharafât—are among the south-west hills, within sight from Jerusalem. The people said they were aware who I was. After a long ride over hills I returned towards Mar Elias, where I found a number of the Bait Safâfa people looking out for us. There I rested among them under a tree and upon a rock, part of which bears the impress (traditional) of the prophet Elijah, who slept upon it on his journey to Horeb.

There I listened to their tales, and ascertained their sentiments, but could do no more than promise to let their wishes be known to the expected Pashà on his arrival—which wishes were to have 'Ali Shaikha restored as their chief, and their plundered property restored.

As for 'Ali Shaikha, said they: 'It is true he is sometimes hard upon us—but then he is our father, and it is a father's duty to chastise his children—we could not return to our village without him, for how can a tent stand upright without its pole in the middle?' An Englishman who had joined us during the ride was much amused at the curious group of people, their gestures and idioms, particularly when they declared they were ready to go to Hell itself if the Consul only bade them.

The contrast was great between them, with their loud discourse, and the pilgrims passing at the same moment on their way between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, this spot being half-way between the two places,

devoutly crossing themselves and kissing the stony couch of Elijah the Prophet. I learnt to-day that the Fellaheen (peasantry) never dare fire against a Shaikh—commit what butchery he may in war—he can only be killed by a Shaikh. This was the case lately with Ahhmed Eesa, and at Bait Nateef with Othmân 'el Lehhâm.

It was one o'clock when we broke up the conference and proceeded homewards, by the 'Well of the Wise Men.' The day was very hot indeed (Feb. 15) with sirocco wind. We overtook some Jews returning from their devotions at Rachel's Sepulchre, it being the last day of the lunar month. They were not disturbed by the hostilities around them.

That day the new Pashà, Kiamil by name, arrived under a salute of Castle guns, and then, of course, a certain number of days were spent by him in ceremonial receptions, visits, &c., before he could begin to think of settling the disorders of the country. Five days later Haj Mustafa Abu Gosh came to explain to me the state of public affairs and dissensions; for, as usual, I received both parties when they came, lest I should by refusing either one become a partisan myself. He stated that the antagonistic chiefs—'Ali Shaikha and Ahhmed Eesa—had agreed to rebuild Wellajah (the village we had seen being demolished a year and half ago) and to people it from both parties—but to leave Bait Safâfa deserted. This was of course a matter for consideration of the Government.

About that time the Pashà, the French Consul, and I held several consultations about the condition of the

country. In one of those meetings, M. Botta warmly advocated the restoration of 'Othmân el Lehhâm to his office of Nâzir (or overseeing chief) of the Belâd 'Arkoob, with all the rival branches of his family reconciled, and forming a phalanx about him, in order to make a counterpoise to the influence of Abu Gosh. The meaning of this was evident, namely, that he considered that 'Othmân would be the best bulwark for defence of the Convent and village of Ain Karem, when he should feel himself to have been reinstated by the French Consulate.

My proposition to the Pashà was rather to take a high hand, and both humble Abu Gosh, and put down 'Othmân, partitioning the Belâd 'Arkoob between the two other families next in rank, namely, those who had guaranteed the Truce of Bait 'Atâb. We were requested to give in our projects in writing for consideration of the Pashà in Mejlis (Council) assembled.

That Council was held, but produced no result. The Government expressed its conviction that the Chiefs were sincere in promising peace and obedience for the future; and then Haj Mustafa Abu Gosh, with his politic uncle, Besheer Abu Gosh, and also Mohammed 'Attalâh, came to me, reporting so much of the proceedings as were openly known.

All these strange and abnormal proceedings in which Consuls were called upon for advice, and their good offices accepted, in reference to the outlying districts, naturally resulted from the peculiar circumstances of the time, such as the interregnum of Pashalic administration, and the alliance of France and England in the European War. It may be noted as a general remark, that the

French Consulate limited its sphere to the matters of Seraglio business in behalf of the Convents in the city and country, whereas the English Consulate had a far wider extent of jurisdiction; namely, over all Palestine, in the interests of British subjects, and came into more direct contact with the rural population (becoming conversant with their affairs rather than with those of the Seraglio) on account of travellers—by means of my journeys through the country, and also by means of the Urtas farm.

The English Consulate was in general more truthfully and sometimes earlier informed of passing events, both among Bedaween and peasantry, than the Government proper of the country.

CHAPTER XXV.

ROYAL VISITORS.

Kiamil Pashà—Royal visits—Arrival of Duke and Duchess of Brabant—State entry into Jerusalem—Literary Society's meeting—Ashes of Temple-sacrifices—The Jews and their feelings—Complaints of Durweeshes—Palm Sunday at English Church—Candlestick presented by Jews at Rachel's Sepulchre—Good Friday—Samaritan visit—First public Christian entrance into the Hharam or Noble Sanctuary on Temple Mountain of Moriah—Church of the Holy Sepulchre lit up on Easter Eve—Easter Day—Service at English Church—French Empress expected—Archduke Maximilian of Austria's visit in June, and his entrance to the Hharam—Incident at Mount Carmel about the French flag—Elation of the Latins—Illuminations in honour of the Papal Bull of the Immaculate Conception—Creation of Knights of the Holy Sepulchre.

KIAMIL PASHÀ had been installed in office, and our scenes now shift in a novel direction. There had been no visits of royal personages to Jerusalem since the Crusades until that of the Princess of Wales in 1816. The next was that of Prince Albert of Prussia in March, 1843, followed in 1850 by the Princess Marianne of the Netherlands (formerly consort of the above-mentioned prince).

But early in March of this year (1855) the intelligence was confirmed of an approaching visit of their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Brabant,[1] and as Belgian affairs were administered by the Austrian Consulate, Count Pizzamano was busily employed in that Imperial Consulate providing for their reception.

All the Continental Consuls were immediately in a

[1] Now King and Queen of the Belgians.

fever upon the subject of ceremonials and precedence—the latter being at first flush not very easy to decide, except in the case of the Austrian Consul, who had the immediate care of the royal visitors; but as they were to visit two Spanish Convents (at Ramlah and Ain Karem, or St. John's in the Desert) before reaching the Holy City, the Spanish Consul demanded official precedence within those walls. To this, however, the French Consul, as Protector of Christianity in the East, would not for a moment consent. The Spanish Consul also claimed, in virtue of some ancient rule, to be the only Consul seated in the Holy Sepulchre Church.

Had the Sardinian Consulate been still in existence, that representative would have doubtless advanced the pretensions of his sovereign to the title of King of Jerusalem, but even so must have failed in a claim to precedency on that account.

In passing it should be noted that the Austrian Emperors likewise claim the hereditary title of King of Jerusalem, if that be worth anything.

The Protestant Consuls of England and Prussia were happily excluded from these disputes.

The auspicious day having arrived, it was arranged that, inasmuch as their Royal Highnesses were to approach Jerusalem by way of Ain Karem—instead of the common highway from Jaffa—the Roman Catholic Consuls were to proceed to that church (in full uniform, of course), with their trains of attendants, over the exceedingly rough hills that intervene, while the Protestant Consuls would remain with the Pashà, and await the procession in a spacious pavilion on the Maidân (or public place outside

the city on the N.W.), which pavilion, with sundry other tents, was surrounded by a military guard of honour. All were then to proceed together to the city. Moreover, in reference to the occasion when the royal personages should repair to the Holy Sepulchre, the Protestant Consuls were advised not to take part in that solemn ceremonial, since no chairs of honour could be provided for Protestant Consuls.[1]

While waiting in the Pashà's pavilion for the arrival of the royal *cortége*, it was with no small degree of astonishment that we saw the Spanish Consul join us there. He had declined to repair with the rest to the 'Ain Karem Convent in a subordinate position to the French Consul.

We waited (of course, all were in full uniform) a very long time. It chanced to be on a Friday, on which day of the week—being the Moslem day of assembly at Mosque Prayers, their Sabbath in some sense—the Ottoman flag is always flying over the Castle. It was also the season of the Neby Moosa pilgrimages of the Moslems. The scene was, therefore, enlivened by rural parties of true believers passing with their sacred banners and music—entering the city at one gate, and issuing from the city after visiting the Hharam, or sacred enclosure of the Noble Sanctuary, by one diametrically opposite.

The Neby Moosa pilgrimages—to the reputed tomb

[1] It has never been stated upon what ground the Protestant nations were regarded as having inferior rights in respect of the Holy Sepulchre, especially the English, seeing the part that our country, as a Sovereign Power, had taken in the Crusades. In conformity with the injunctions from the Foreign Office to the British Consulate, to advance no pretensions, and give no umbrage in questions about the Holy Sepulchre, my duty seemed distinctly marked out at the time. Prussia retired equally from the contention—whether she will do so in future I will not ventur to say.

of the prophet Moses, near the Dead Sea (on the West) —have been instituted so as to coincide with the Christian pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulchre, and the influx of devout Moslems was doubtless intended to counterbalance the effect of so many thousands of sturdy Christians being present in Jerusalem. The Moslems come from every part of the Mohammedan world—from India, Tartary, even to the confines of China, from all the countries of Central Asia, and also from Egypt, Nubia, Morocco, the Eastern shores of Africa, as well as from Arabia proper and the Turkish provinces in Europe and Asia.

These pilgrims—for the most part extremely fanatical, and in a high state of religious excitement—are a formidable and dangerous body of men. During the continuance of the Russian war these Moslem pilgrims were wrought up to an extra pitch of fervour and ostentatious demonstration. There was always danger lest, in the crowded streets and bazaars, through which they forced their processions, they might come into collision with some equally fervid pilgrims on the Christian side. In this case a passing fray might, in the twinkling of an eye, be turned into downright fight, and fight could scarcely end otherwise than in massacre. We always breathed more freely when the Moslem pilgrimages were over, and when their noisy drumming and shouting were at an end, and the usual quiet of Jerusalem was restored.

The number of Christian pilgrims was, of course, lessened during the war. There were none from Russia, and fewer than usual of the Greeks and Armenians from the Turkish provinces. But of Latins there were a good many.

The war was with Russia, hence with the great champion of the Eastern Church, and the Sultan had found helpful allies, as a matter of course, among the Latin sovereigns—champions of the Western, or Rival Church. The Latins, therefore, were able to lift up their heads as they had never done in Jerusalem since the fall of the crusading kingdom.

Our royal visitors, the Duke and Duchess of Brabant (the latter an Austrian Princess), were looked upon by both Turks and Latins as representative personages. Turks are seldom wanting in knowledge of matters belonging to etiquette or statecraft, and our Pashà well understood the importance of doing all honour to these royal guests of his sovereign at this critical juncture, while yet the fate of Sebastopol and the ultimate success of the Alliance hung undecided in the balance.

Had His Excellency Kiamil Pashà been less alive than he was to the importance attached to this visit, or rather pilgrimage, made by Latin royalty to the Holy Places, the Latin Patriarch would have abundantly enlightened him. Monsignor Valerga was not one to lose sight of the special points that might give this visit all the weight of a Latin demonstration.

Whatever might be the jealousies of the various Latin powers as represented by their respective Consuls, and the questions of rank and precedence certain to arise and difficult to adjust, the Patriarch was there to assert the pre-eminent interests of the Church over all.

These questions of nationality and precedence seem trivial at a distance, but on the spot they were sufficiently perplexing. The Patriarch, himself by birth a Sardinian,

had to soothe the susceptibilities of the Spanish Consul, representative of the most Christian nation, than whom none had sent more devoted sons, or more liberal supplies, in support of the Spanish Convents in Terra Santa.

The Austrian Consul was not only host as representing Belgium, but because the duchess was of the Imperial Austrian house, and it was not for a Sardinian to overlook or forget what might be due to Austria, most especially in these days, before the Italian kingdom. All these considerations were however to be subordinated to the prerogatives of the French Consul, as representing the nation which was formally and officially recognised by Turkey as 'Protector of Christianity in the East,' and through whom, therefore, all the collective interests of Christianity could alone be protected, or even dealt with;—without whom, in short, nothing could be done, and who was at this moment doing battle for the Latin Church with her great rival.

But the Patriarch was fully equal to the emergency. In bodily presence tall, and commanding as any Consul among them all, and with a certain hauteur of manner, not inconsistent with suave courtesy to those whom he addressed, the practised churchman was ready to turn all the circumstances and incidents of this auspicious event to good account, and to overrule whatever untoward incidents might arise.

For the Turkish Pashà this royal visit was full of anxious considerations, beset by cares, difficulties, and even dangers.

To carry out the wishes of the Sultan, and do all honour to these Royal representatives of the Latin Allies of

Turkey; to give no other nation any just cause of offence; to detract in nothing from the French supremacy; to avoid exasperating the professedly loyal subjects of the Sultan among Eastern Christians—above all the Greeks—who were watching with lynx eyes on the very spot to see whether a hair's breadth of undue advantage would be exacted by, or granted to, their Western rivals at the Sacred Tomb or elsewhere in the Holy Places; to so conduct matters that the pride of the Ottoman Government should be respected; that the fanaticism of the Moslems should receive no wound whereby the very lives of the Royal visitors might be endangered; in short, so to manage all the ceremonials and arrangements of this Progress (in the most crowded season, when party spirit was inflamed to the highest pitch), that no cause of offence should arise, that no accident should produce an inconvenience or slight, or rudeness, or injury, that might by any possibility lead to the unspeakable disaster of bloodshed, or a Moslem rising in which Christian lives should be lost: these were some of the difficulties among which the Turkish Pashà had to steer his course, at a critical juncture in the history of the Turkish Empire.

Never had Pashà a more delicate task to perform.

His Excellency Kiamil Pashà had been scarcely six weeks in his post as Governor of Jerusalem. He was not a Musheer (with ensign of three horse-tails) as two of the late Pashàs had been, neither was he of any ancient family. Rather young, and without commanding presence, some people doubted whether he would be able to keep order in the country. His retinue was insignificant; but he had always about him a young Secretary

of French extraction, who could at least inform him how best to conform his measures to the ideas and opinions entertained by the French authorities. Kiamil Pashà had, at least, the activity of a young man, and this was a great advantage, after the pitiful helplessness of the two old men we had lately had in office.

But to return to the Pavilion on the Maidân, where his Excellency was waiting, with the Prussian, Spanish, and British Consuls for the arrival of the Royal *cortége.*

It was a strange motley scene all around. A poor old blind Jew came to play on a broken flute before the Pashà;—Infantry and Tufenkchies were placed around; children were playing; horses picketed; other tents adjoining contained Effendis and other natives of consideration; the fields and roads were lined with spectators; the general population of the city was out by thousands on the Maidân, in gay costume; and the spectacle was rendered more animated by horsemen careering about. A party of French gentlemen were near, waiting in expectation, and protected from the hot sun by wearing white Algerine burnooses.

As the day advanced the Effendis became very impatient for breakfast, and also for the weekly Mosque prayers; for it was Friday, and noon was already approaching. Numerous riders from the town still passed, going further out to meet the *cortége.*

Now it is a custom derived from ancient times and of immemorial usage (I believe not confined to Jerusalem) that the city gates are closed for about two hours on every Friday, beginning half an hour before noon to allow of the sentinels accompanying the rest of the garrison

to public prayers in the Hharam (Noble Sanctuary). According to Mohammedan ritual all martial weapons are laid aside during prayers, and a popular belief has gained ground that the city is at some time or other to be retaken by the Christians while the soldiers are thus engaged in devotion. The weekly shutting of the gates is therefore supposed to be connected with a hope of preventing that catastrophe.

This day it so happened, that by reason of the long and slow progress from 'Ain Karem (over one of the rockiest and worst roads in Palestine), the arrival was delayed. There was the vast multitude of all religions waiting; there was the city gate still kept wide open; there were the Moeddin crying in vain from the Minarets the hour of prayer, Moslem worshippers were assembling in the Temple Courts; —while the Pashà, the troops, and the Effendis waited for the Christian Prince. This certainly was a wonderful occurrence.

The Moslems were not a little scandalised; the Christians could not help surmising that the Consuls had purposely contrived to bring this about. It is certain that His Grace the Latin Patriarch, while waiting robed in his own residence for the arrival, walked about among his visitors (assembled to see the procession and entry from his windows), expressing, as time passed on, his joy at the wonderful fulfilment of the Moslem prophecy that the city should be taken by Christians at the time of noonday prayer—in whatever sense the prediction might be taken, whether as a breaking through of old traditional usages, or as a presage of futurity.

At length the grand procession appeared over the

crest of the windmill-hill, and we, the expectant officials, advanced a few hundred yards, in order to dismount on meeting the august personages. According to Constantinople usage, the junior Consul was placed first, and the Pashà last; then all proceeded to the Pavilion for ceremonial presentation, but the Consul of Her Catholic Majesty refused to enter with us.

His Royal Highness addressed me in English. He wore a uniform of dark green and scarlet, with a bear-skin grenadier cap. The Duchess and a lady of honour were at his left hand, and there were a number of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics in attendance, one of some rank, wearing purple stockings, with several decorations of honour on his breast.

The crowd around was immense, but kept back in a semi-circle by the sentinels. After the Pashà had caused sherbet, pipes, and coffee to be presented, the procession was re-formed, but the Royal party soon dismounted in order to enter the Holy City on foot. Of course, all followed their example, excepting the kawwâsses of all the Consuls, who headed the procession in double line, bearing their silver staves aloft. They parted wheeling to right and left within the Jaffa Gate, and the procession passed on between their ranks.

The Castle guns fired a royal salute of 21.

At about thirty yards within the City Gate there was a halt, for there was the Latin Patriarch with his clerical train (all in full robes), and the Franciscan monks holding a large silver cross. A small carpet was spread on the ground with two cushions; there the Royal pilgrims knelt for mental prayer and for receiving the Patri-

arch's benediction; after which they kissed his hand. His Grace then delivered an oration in French of which I only caught the words, 'La solution du grand problème de la régéneration de ces contrées.' He expressed a hope that this illustrious example would be followed by many others of equal significance, and prayed, in conclusion, that we might all meet hereafter in the heavenly Jerusalem, which is 'notre véritable patrie.'

His Royal Highness replied briefly and in a low voice (for the pilgrims this was a trying ceremonial, so full of deep emotion as they were, on first reaching the Sacred City). The procession then moved on to the Holy Sepulchre, chanting as they went along, and all of them uncovered, though the sun was intensely hot. They were escorted by Turkish infantry through the streets, preceded by the Pashà, also on foot, performing, as some persons expressed it, 'the functions of a Policeman' in front of the Crucifix, and of the monks. The roofs of the houses were everywhere thronged with spectators. The Prussian Consul and I turned aside to my house to wait the return of the ladies, who had been witnessing the entry from the windows of the Patriarchate.

This certainly was a notable day, for since the Crusades, Jerusalem had never seen Roman Catholics in such an ecstasy of triumph.

There were no Mosque noontide prayers that day; but the Turkish military band had been stopped for the sake of the Monks' hymns, and the great silver crucifix had been escorted by Moslem bayonets while the Governor of the City led the way for a public religious

Christian procession to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

In the evening of the same day we had a full and very interesting meeting of our Literary Society. Liebig's analysis of the ashes of the ancient sacrifices (sent by us from the great Mound, North of Jerusalem) was the most important point discussed (see chapter xxi.). Rev. Mr. Valentiner (the Prussian Pastor) read a paper on the γεφύρα (*bridge*, so translated) of Josephus, which connected the Temple with the Upper City.

Thus did our daily life in Jerusalem bring into close contact the past and the present, and give us some slight forecast of the future.

The pageant of the morning, for it was nothing less,—(although the royal pilgrims themselves could not have intended their pious visit to the Holy City to be the occasion of so much pomp, glitter, and parade, in the open space which the ancient Tower of David looked down upon, at the moment when, amid thunder of cannon, clash of military music, chants of robed and jewelled clergy, waving of incense and the homage of the Turkish authorities, the procession paused for the first time within the city gate, and passed amid the many-coloured multitude and the splendour of fullest sunshine to the Holy Sepulchre)—this pageant, with all its strangely varied, and even conflicting, elements, bore testimony to the mighty influence of the great past of Jerusalem upon the present of the nations, and upon the views of the future, implied in the Latin Patriarch's allusion to 'the great problem of the regeneration of these countries.'

And in the evening of that strange Friday our thoughts

were occupied with the ashes of sacrifice carried out from that sanctuary, which had to-day, for the first time in history, been deserted by Moslem worshippers—carried out from the sanctuary whence an infinitely grander ritual had, in past ages, been celebrated daily by a priesthood, totally unrepresented in this day's public religious demonstration.

And we had been discussing the site and history of the Broken Bridge, magnificent and most sorrowful emblem of the breach between Christians and that nation, which had taken no part in the glitter and pomp of this day's proceedings; but who had not failed in their religious service near the foot of the Broken Bridge, where, according to custom, they assemble each Friday at the hour of the no-longer-offered evening sacrifice; and where they pray, not as heretofore in their own Temple Courts, for these are now the Noble Sanctuary of the Gentiles, but outside of the mighty Wall of Solomon.

There, at the Wailing Wall, had they been weeping over the past overthrow, and praying for the glorious future restoration of *their* temple and of *their* kingdom, without any reference to the present passing events, or to the tremendous war now waging by the nations for 'the settlement of the Eastern Question.'

A curious incident occurred next morning. On returning home I found that a party of Moslem Shaikhs and Durweeshes had come to the British Consulate for redress. They had stuck up their banners of scarlet and green (inscribed with mottoes, or verses, of the Korân, and surrounded by crescents of tin or brass) in the

ground, and were furiously gesticulating in debate with my kawwâsses. It turned out that they had to complain of injury and insult from the Turkish commandant, who had beaten them by his soldiers for firing off their guns inside the streets of the city—a practice to which they had always been accustomed from time immemorial, while beating their cymbals and tambourines, and chanting in honour of the Prophet Moses on the way to the Great Sanctuary.

It should be remembered that it was always the practice to load the guns with long heavy pieces of lead by way of bullets, in order to increase the loudness of the report.

Nothing could be done but explain to them that the commandant was right in preventing random firing within the walls and streets of a fortified city, and thus to send them away. However inclined I might be to laugh, as one might do if Jack o' the Green in London were to come with a complaint against the police; or rather the appearance of the rabble reminded one of a dirty edition of a summer procession in England of a trades union with flags and inscriptions—this was evidently a serious concern in their estimation—as grave as a partisan procession in Ireland (and they were fanatical Moslems).

So I had to put on a solemn face, and to disclaim the possibility of my interfering between the Sublime Porte and its own subjects.

Next day was Palm Sunday—of course for the Latins as well as for us. This was the first Sunday spent by the Royal visitors in the Holy City. It is naturally always a great day, especially observed at the Holy Sepulchre,

and it was this year a day of triumph and of high state for the Latin Church.

The service in our own Christ Church was well attended. Crowds of English and American travellers were in Jerusalem, and many were present. The anthem sung had special interest—'Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord!'—in its reference to future as well as past, and inasmuch as Christian Hebrews joined in singing it with Gentile Christians. An offering of a bottle of fine old Jerusalem wine was afterwards brought to the organist, and set upon the table by one of the oldest Jewish converts, in the fulness of his delight at this glorious song being thus made part of the day's service; for, of course, he and his people linked it with the future of the Hebrew nation.

As the day went down the full Passover moon shone over all Jerusalem and the country round. The week was actually Passover week to the Jews.

In a few days the Duke and Duchess held a public *Levée* at the Austrian Consulate, where they were residing. The Consuls, the Turkish military officers, and the Latin monks awaited the reception in an ante-room, where the Countess Pizzamano (the Consul's lady) did the honours. The Armenian Patriarch, with his long train, was in another room. The Pashà and others came in due time, and all were graciously received by the Prince.

Early in the same day I had ridden over to Urtas to visit Meshullam and the farm, with the U. S. Consul from Bayroot and with Lord Napier from Constantinople.

On the road homewards I found Jews assembling at Rachel's Sepulchre, and on my enquiring the reason they told me that Rabbi Nissim was sending out a great and beautiful מְנֹרָה candlestick, or chandelier, to burn there in honour of 'our mother Rachel';—the companies thickened as I advanced. There were some Spanish (Sephardi) as well as German (Ashkenaz). The women were carrying oranges (plentiful at this season) and bottles of wine in handkerchiefs, and the lads were singing in chorus and clapping hands.

At length came the honoured candlestick, covered with muslin. They told me that fifty candles were to be lighted. Some of the Jews were also carrying candles, vowed by themselves, to be lighted there, painted with wreaths of green and spotted with gold leaf. They were all in great glee and in best attire, it being Passover week.

Some Armenian pilgrims were passing on the way to Bethlehem, and, of course, despised the Jews.

Next day was Good Friday. Our church was very full. Amrâm, the priest of the Samaritans, and one of his people, called on me after the service. They had come from Nabloos (Shechem) on business.

The next important event in connection with this Royal visit was the entrance to the Hharam (Noble Sanctuary of the Moslems, Temple Enclosure of the Jews, on Mount Moriah), for which unprecedented privilege His Royal Highness was bearer of a special Firmân from the Sultan.

I say unprecedented, because although private individuals had before then gained stealthy admission in dis-

guise, or by night, as Richardson and one or two others, this was to be a public and daylight entry. And it was understood that a select number would be admitted in the company or train of the Royal persons thus specially privileged.

The signal honour thus accorded by the Sultan to the Duke and Duchess of Brabant was consistent with the line adopted throughout, according to which these were treated as representative personages from the Latin Allies of the Porte; though Belgium was not in the alliance, she was of the same religion, and this was quite enough for the Oriental view of the situation.

Every possible distinction was heaped on these honoured guests by their host, the Ottoman Sultan, who, in granting the firmân of admission to the Sanctuary, hitherto guarded with utmost jealousy from profanation by feet of the unbeliever, had granted the most precious mark of good-will, had given the crowning proof of his amity towards Christians disposed to confide in his kind intentions, and to stand by him when unjustly attacked, and of course all Moslems and all Latins, and not a few Eastern Christians of all churches, thought the Sultan had been unjustly attacked by Russia.

This relaxation of ancient exclusion was in some sense a consequence of the increased facilities given for visiting St. Sophia in Constantinople, which again was the inevitable result of the presence of European allied forces in that metropolis.

The Sanctuary of the Hharam had been always hitherto, while under Mohammedan rule, an interdicted place to non-believers (hence its name Hharam, sanc-

tuary, 'set apart'). The line of apartments along the inner side of the western wall and cloister of the great enclosure (which it will be remembered is a vast quadrangle covering all the summit of Mount Moriah) was allotted to learned religious students or professors, and the whole enclosure was guarded by a police of African race, called Ṭakrûri.[1] This tribe or family had distinguished itself in battle for the faith of Islâm. They had, therefore, been entrusted with the guardianship of this spot, most venerated by all true Moslems, and they had always been faithful to their trust even to ferocity.

The appearance of these men was calculated to inspire fear. They were above middle height, active, and powerfully built; black in colour, but many of them good-looking, save when fanatic fury distorted their countenances; then indeed they were terrible to behold, and still more terrible to encounter, for they were armed with huge clubs which they were ever ready to use in defence of the inviolability of the Sanctuary. More than one serious case had occurred in which these Africans had all but murdered Christian trespassers into the Hharam, and it was dangerous even to approach the gates or to be seen upon the city walls too near this forbidden paradise. Death or Islâm was the only choice offered to intruders, and not so long before, one unfortunate Moslem had been cut down in open day while at his prayers in the court of the Sanctuary, on suspicion that he was not truly a Mohammedan.

The Pashà had to deal with these men, before any safe entrance could be assured to the Royal party.

[1] In the plural 'Takarna.' They come from Darfoor and its adjacencies.

He therefore summoned them together shortly before the time fixed for the arrival of the Duke and Duchess, at the Seraglio. The Pashà's residence or Seraglio at that time was at the north-western corner of the Sanctuary and abutted on to it. The upper windows commanded a very fine view of the sacred precincts and of the dome itself.

His Excellency told the blacks that he had a message to deliver to them from the Caliph himself, *i.e.* the Sultan, who is reverenced as Caliph by them, as by the Moslems of Turkey; then pretending to have left the document by mistake in the next room, he left them in order to fetch it, and shut the door. This was instantly surrounded by Turkish infantry with fixed bayonets, and the poor blacks were thus incarcerated until the European affair was over. They of course were in ignorance as to what was going on.

The regiment forming the Jerusalem garrison was chiefly Turkish, and therefore to be depended upon by the Pashà in his arrangements for the safety of the guests entrusted to him by his Sovereign. But it was a critical matter to obey the Sultan's firmân and to risk admitting Christians into the Sanctuary, now, while fanaticism was so stirred by the war with Christians, and above all while Jerusalem was not yet free from the Moslem pilgrims, a specially excitable body of people, among whom were always a good many Durweeshes.

Jerusalem was filled to an unusual degree: this day (Saturday, April 7, Easter eve) was the very day of the Holy Fire at the Sepulchre, which went off as usual and was pretty well attended by votaries and spectators,

in spite of the war having kept away Russians and Eastern Christians, to whom the Holy Fire is a sacred reality. The Latins, now in modern times, scorn the deception practised on the devout multitudes in this matter by Greek and Armenian ecclesiastics.

Everyone who heard anything of the grand opportunity so long hoped for, even against hope, by the old residents in Jerusalem, who had for years looked down with longing upon the glorious Temple Court from Olivet or from the site of Antonia at the governor's house,—everybody was on the *qui vive*, whether residents or travellers. But the thing was to be kept as quiet as possible. There was an old saying, that a Sultan could perhaps order Christians to be admitted within the Sanctuary, but could he order that they should come out again alive?

Still the excitement was great. The Consuls, it was understood, would be admitted of the party; so would, of course, Lord Napier, who chanced to be with Lady Napier in Jerusalem at the time on public business from the Embassy.

There was an unexpected rush of travellers to the various consulates, presenting themselves for admission, the Americans repairing to the British house, as they had at that time only a native Agent to represent them in Jerusalem.

The Consuls (all of them probably) looked to Count Pizzamano, the Austrian Consul, for arrangement and direction, but he found it prudent to allay, as much as possible, the general ardour, going round to them and disclaiming authority in the matter: the Pashà was to be

alone looked to for direction, he being '*maître de la maison.*'

His Excellency had expressed his positive desire that neither pilgrims (as distinguished from travellers), nor ordinary residents of the city were to be privileged on the occasion. Pilgrims alone would have furnished a host unmanageably large, and enough to exasperate the Moslems.

Those of the ordinary residents who besieged the English Consulate went down to the Seraglio, followed by equally eager travellers, to wait and see whether the authorities would grant them admission.

As it was known to many of the candidates for admission, that even Moslems are not suffered to enter the sanctuaries in their street shoes, but must either walk without any, or put on fresh morocco slippers carried thither by servants on purpose, it was wonderful to find what a prodigious demand was now made all of a sudden in the bazaars for the yellow slippers called *alasheen*: such a purchase cannot often have been made in one day at Jerusalem.

But even now the general Moslem population had no knowledge of what was preparing to be done. The Pashà had kept his own counsel; and as the time drew near, he quietly posted guards of soldiers at the various gates to keep out Moslems, who might have given trouble. He had purposely chosen an hour in the afternoon when prayers would not be going on, and when there would probably be very few Moslems in the Sacred Enclosure.

In case the alarm should be given that the Sanctuary was being profaned by Christian infidels, the well-armed troops posted at the several gates would be able to pre-

vent any sudden rush of fanatics from entering. The principal barrack was close at hand on the site of Antonia.

Those who lived in Jerusalem and could understand the danger incurred in case the Moslems should become aware of what was going on, and take the matter into their own hands, had complied with the wish of the authorities, and had kept the matter as quiet as possible.

But people were too eager to be prudent; long pent-up desire to set foot upon the Temple Mountain, to walk within its glorious courts, burst over and beyond all bounds of restraint; and the great crowd of travellers, most of whom never expected to be in the Holy Land again in their lives, brought an unexpected difficulty into the case. They had no idea of prudent reserve, had no knowledge of the real danger of the thing, did not see that the admission of Christians to St. Sophia—formerly a Byzantine church, and now nothing more than the grand mosque of the Turkish capital—had no real parallel with the throwing open to unbelievers of the spot in the world most sacred to Moslems, after, and perhaps not even after, the Kaaba sanctuary at Mecca.

It is not only that Moslems believe the Jerusalem Hharam to be identical with the precincts and the site of Solomon's Temple, and therefore holy; but they believe Abraham, David, and Elijah to have worshipped there, and all the most miraculous part of the history of their own prophet Mohammed is linked with the Sacred Rock, whence he is declared to have ascended to heaven on the midnight journey, when the horse Borak carried him up to receive divine revelations of the religion of Islâm.

Nothing can exceed the genuine earnest reverence of devout Moslems for this spot, connected not only with the past, but with the future triumphs of Islâm, when Mohammed and 'Our Lord Jesus' shall come to judgment.

The very place where Mohammed shall then sit is shown on a pillar which projects from the Hharam Wall, over the Valley of Jehoshaphat. And over the same valley will, they believe, be stretched that slender bridge over which the faithful will cross on their way to eternal bliss. This Sanctuary is, indeed, as they call it, the Hharam esh Shereef—the Honourable (or Noble) Sanctuary.

A few of us knew these things, and had watched the troubled countenances of some even friendly Moslems, who were aware of what was coming, and who were yet quite prepared to carry out and obey the orders of their Padishah.

But how about the rest?

That was a question we did not care to think about. The Pashà had shown himself to be ready in resource; his troops were steady. The secret had been little talked about till that day, and who would not risk something—nay, a good deal—to go and walk within those beautiful Temple Courts, so lovely now in their spring beauty of green sward and wild flowers, cypresses, and olive trees, to visit the exquisite shrine on the summit of the highest platform; not, indeed, glorious as Solomon's Temple had been glorious, within and without; but very glorious still, even when seen from a distance?

And within this shrine Moslems had told us a part of

the foundations of Solomon's Temple was visible: and the Jews had told us that there was the Stone of Foundation upon which the Temple had stood; and upon which, according to some, the High Priest had habitually sprinkled the blood in the Second Temple, where the Ark of the Covenant and the Mercy Seat (never seen since the destruction by Nebuchanezzar, but believed by the Jews to be still within the precincts) were awanting.

We were at last then to enter the courts which most Jews would refuse to walk over (even if allowed by Moslems), lest they should be guilty of disrespect to the holy law of God, which they believe that their priests in ancient time hid away beneath the pavement in some of the many subterranean treasure-houses, hewn out by Solomon in the mountain; those courts erewhile thronged by joyful worshippers, even in the days when our Saviour went thither to teach, to heal, and Himself to fulfil the law.

Those courts now calm and lovely, if comparatively deserted, in which the most devout, the bravest, the most fanatically zealous of the Jewish people had perished, which had been so polluted with human bodies and human blood that never again could Jewish priests offer sacrifice, or Jewish people worship there, until the Mosaic purification with the ashes of the red heifer shall have been accomplished. To these most sacred, most desecrated courts, our steps were bent!

We were to approach the spot where the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite had been, the site of King David's altar; the site of Abraham's altar on Moriah;[1]

[1] 2 Chron. iii. 1; Gen. xxii. 2; Josephus, *Ant.* vii. 6. 13. 4.

the site of the Holy of Holies, the earthly throne of Divine majesty and presence, the spot where the Veil had been rent in twain! There was not much room left in our minds for dwelling upon possible dangers.

Our feelings became more and more excited.

We went down on our way to the Seraglio, where all were to assemble. In the *Via Dolorosa* the Prussian, the American, and the English Consular parties met together. At the Seraglio the kawwâsses had to push our way through a multitude of eager expectants (a good proportion of whom were English travellers) who were assembled in the Pashà's residence, standing in the courts, the terraces, and on the steps, and most with new yellow slippers in their hands. Some had even penetrated into the reception-room.

Here the Turkish secretary distributed to the consular parties, and to them only, tickets for admission.

Scarcely was this finished when it was announced that their Royal Highnesses, who had met the Pashà and the military authorities in another apartment, had already entered the sacred precincts, and we were to follow at once—which we accordingly did, suffering much from pressure from behind, and passing through a narrow dark passage, which forms the private entrance to the Sanctuary precincts from the Pashà's Seraglio. It was speedily found that the tickets were of no use, for the crowd in our rear pushed us forward and defied all attempts to exclude them: in they rushed like a flood, and the guard and a dozen of infantry soldiers posted at this point had actually to fall back.

It was some time before anyone could recover any-

thing like the reverential feelings due to the solemnity of the place we were entering: religious meditation was at that moment out of the question.

On a sudden we emerged into daylight and bright sunshine; and we stood within the Sanctuary on the smooth scarped rock cut away some thousand years ago.

Here the main body of the Turkish garrison awaited the company. The soldiers were fully armed, and closed around us as we followed the Pashà, who, with the officers in command, led the Royal visitors forward.

We then crossed the general space of the vast enclosure towards the centre, where are the steps by which the upper platform and the shrine (the Dome of the Rock) is reached. At the foot of the steps we were stopped to 'put off our shoes from off our feet.' Ascending upon the wide platform by those steps, we were now on a level with the grand edifice commonly and erroneously called by Europeans the 'Mosque of Omar,' but by the Mohammedans 'Dome of the Rock'—seeing that this building, with all its magnificence, is but a cover for protection of the Holy Sakhrah, and of a few traditional adjuncts which were gathered round it.

We entered this central shrine.

To our great surprise, there, enclosed by a railing, was a huge mass of primeval rock lying beneath the Great Dome; a rich canopy of green silk and gold hanging over it.

Astonishment and awe at seeing this rock above the floor—grey, rugged, and immense—took possession of our mind, even before the sensation of admiration for its shrine, with the rich colours of the stained glass

windows, the gorgeous silk canopy, the profuse gilding of the interior, the arabesques, the mosaics, the costly marble pillars.

This then was the 'Foundation of the House of God' of which the Moslems had formerly told us—the 'Stone of Foundation' the Jews had talked about, as visible within the Sanctuary—yet no mere *stone*, but the vast rocky apex of the Holy Mountain itself. Truly this was the 'top of the Mountain' on which Josephus tells us the Temple stood. There is no spot so high as this culminating point beneath the dome.

And the rough unhewn simplicity amidst all the splendour of the shrine! Ah! that spoke of reverent obedience to the Law given by Moses (Exodus xx. 25), forbidding any altar to be built up of hewn stone, 'for if thou lift up thy tool upon it thou hast polluted it.'

And if King Solomon in his scrupulous obedience to this command had caused even the stones of which the outer works of the Temple and its courts were built, to be carved and finished before they were brought to the Holy Mountain, so that 'no sound of axe or hammer was heard' during all the progress of the building, here before our eyes lay the evidence in all its rugged majesty that the rock which had served as the Altar base to King David, when God answered him by fire from heaven—and earlier still to Abraham, when he was prepared to offer his son—that Rock thus consecrated had been left intact and unhewn; no tool had been raised upon it to pollute it, by Israelite, or by Moslem.

The first glance at the rough rock made clear, as in an instant by a flash of vivid light, where those Altars,

and the Holy of Holies must have stood; there and nowhere else—so it seemed to us then—so it has seemed to us from that day forward—had been their fitting and 'Majestic site.'

But even there, no leisure for thought was afforded to us.

The Pashà was leading the way with the Royal party, and he was attended by Shaikh Mohammed Danaf, well known to us as the hereditary guardian of the Sanctuary. The black Africans, mentioned above, are the *guards*; but Shaikh Mohammed Danaf held an office corresponding to that of Dean in an English Cathedral. It is hereditary in his family, and he had told us that he was the lineal descendant and heir of the guardian first appointed immediately after the Arab invasion and conquest under Omar. His son, one of those alluded to above, has now succeeded to the office. A liberal present had reconciled Shaikh Mohammed to the Christian visit to the Sanctuary.

The building was nearly filled by the invaders and the Moslems officially in attendance. As soon as I began to move round (following the Royal group), the son and relations of the Hereditary Guardian came about me, eager to have the honour of pointing out the sites and objects of Mohammedan tradition to the British Consul, for whom 'every good Moslem ought to pray.'

(M. Botta was not there to receive his share of these expressions, which had reference to the gratitude felt all over the district, for the recent conclusion of truce among the peasant chiefs, and stoppage of the slaughter among them, with restoration of peace among the others. By these measures many lives were saved; and it was made

possible for the corn crops to be sown in time for harvest, now not very far off, but which had been despaired of in February. These were great blessings. And the Moslems of all the country round were sensible of the good which had been done by the timely exercise of British influence for the relief of the distressed and for the succour of the innocent and helpless part of the population from the miseries before them, if the fighting had been left to go on unchecked.)

The young Danaf guardians showed me where a large piece of the rock had been cut off 'by Nebuchadnezzar,' whereas the great mass of the rock is in its primitive original condition of unhewn ruggedness. But history tells us that it was the Crusaders who cut away a portion of the rock, in order that they might fit their altars upon it.

They also pointed out the footprint of the creature 'Borak,' upon which Mohammed ascended to the seventh heaven attended by the angel Gabriel, and a variety of other legendary matter connected with the Prophet and with the rock. Suddenly we heard fanatic howls of some Durweesh who had, in spite of all the precautions, gained an entrance, and was screaming and cursing us; but the military guard soon put an end to that by getting round and removing him.

This, however, brought back our thoughts to the danger we should be in, supposing that the alarm were given in Jerusalem, and that Moslem fury were aroused against us. The Pashà quickened his steps in conducting the Duke and Duchess from point to point. The soldiers were on the alert.

The circumstance that we were escorted by the Hereditary Guardian and his relations would have served us but little in case of an outbreak. Not very many years before this the English Mission physician had been attending one of the chief Moslem families in their house, which overlooks the Hharam precincts. Out of gratitude, they led him a very little way within the gates of the open Court, that he might behold, if even only in a glimpse, something of the beauty of the Sanctuary. But two of the African watchmen espied the intruders, and rushing upon them with their clubs, they knocked down, not only the English doctor, but the Moslem gentleman who was conducting him, and would have killed both had not help been at hand, and the gate so close by that they could be dragged out of reach by the friendly Moslem, the Hereditary Guardian himself, who was just in time to save them, though with difficulty.

Having passed round the great Rock, we went to the steps, which at the south-east side lead down into the natural hollow or cave in the Rock. We waited for the Royal party who were below to come up.

We gazed round at the harmony of the proportions of the building, at the rich gold-fretted work, the mosaics; the beautiful stained-glass windows, lovely beyond description. We could not on this occasion understand what it was that gave the rich brilliancy, as of jewels, to the coloured light; but long afterwards we discovered that this was produced by an ingenious mode of setting each portion of the glass so as to obtain a variety of reflected light *within* the windows. We looked at the *verde antique* and other marbles, the double columns, and those in the

midst; at the Solemn Rock where, they told us again, the 'House of God' had been.

We went down the steps into the cave, the Rock being visible overhead. There our Moslem friends pointed out around the sides of the Cave the praying stations (Makâm) of Abraham, David, Solomon, and Elijah.

But this Cave (so evidently natural, one of the ordinary hollows that abound in the limestone rocks of this country), surely it was the hiding place to which allusion is made in the history of King David's Sacrifice (1 Chron. xxii. 20). Ornan and his sons had been threshing wheat upon their threshing-floor; they saw the angel, feared and hid themselves, where? but in the cavern beside their threshing-floor, which was also no doubt their granary for the winnowed grain.

There above our heads was the hole in the rock roof of the Cave through which the grain would have been poured down from above, and which in early ages gave this rock its name of 'Lapis pertusus.'

It is worth notice that this Cave is on the south-eastern side of the Great Rock, that is to say, on its leeward side, and therefore close to the threshing-floor, if it was situated as a native would prefer it to be situated, on that side where the grain and the straw (so valuable for provender) would have shelter when the north-west wind (which prevails in summer) might blow high, and yet sufficiently near the crest of the rock to catch the gentle breezes needed for winnowing the corn.

Our Moslem guides struck the centre of the floor in the Cave, to convince us that there is a large cavity below. This (lower depth) they call the Beer el Arruâhh,

the pit where departed Souls dwell waiting for the resurrection. The instant thought on hearing this strange Moslem legend was of the verse in the vi. chapter of Revelations, about the souls of them that were slain for the Word of God, waiting 'under the altar.' It may be indeed that the idea of the Moslems has been derived from this very verse.

Here was evidently an opening to those treasure chambers hewn out in the solid rock below, of which we had read and heard from the Jews, and in one of which they believe the Ark of the Covenant to have been secreted by the priests, under advice from the Prophet Jeremiah, before Nebuchadnezzar captured the city and broke into the Sanctuary.

But we were not given time for pursuing the thoughts that flashed upon our minds on seeing thus, for the first time, what we had vaguely imagined to ourselves about the site of the Temple when gazing down upon it from Olivet, in ignorance that this Rock lay visible beneath the Dome, whose name had hitherto been a constant puzzle as connected with 'the foundations of Solomon's Temple,' but the meaning of which was made clear by one glance at the grand living Rock which it enshrines.

The Pashà and the royal party were moving rapidly on and we followed. Mounting again we issued from the Dome of the Rock at its Southern Portal. We went across the great platform, descending the flight of steps on that side, and went towards the Mosque of 'Aksa (a real *Mosque*, *i.e.* a building within which Moslems assemble for public worship; the Dome of the Rock is

only a Shrine, or Sanctuary, used for special prayers and ceremonials).

We passed through an avenue of trees. They told us that the great cypresses had been planted by Nebuchadnezzar, and an ancient olive by the Prophet Mohammed. Near the entrance of the Mosque is a spot where, they told us, the sons of Aaron (Neby Haroon) are buried.

The vastness of the edifice struck us as we entered and passed along its length (southwards). It is cheerful, in good repair, and looks what it is—a Christian church (built by Justinian) misapplied. At the southern extremity is a rich *Mihrâb*, or niche of marblework, to indicate the direction of Mecca for prayer. Close to this is a fine pulpit used on every Friday for preaching, and near that an elevated platform for the Pashà when he attends. Nearer to it, but lower, is the place for the Kâdi (Judge). On the other side of the church is the reserved place for women.

Nearly adjoining the *Mihrâb* on its east side is a chamber, with a marble niche beside it, declared to have been the praying place of the Caliph Omar, and the true Mosque of Omar.

This (Church) Mosque of 'Aksa is very fine, but it has not the overwhelming interest of the other.

The pillars are inscribed with the names of Mohammed, Ali, Omar, Othmân, Abu Bekr, in letters of prodigious size. The capitals of many of the pillars are interesting, some being in basketwork and other peculiar patterns.

But subsequent visitors have had such ample opportunity for examining and describing the architectural

features, that it is needless to dwell upon the impressions gathered during this first hasty glance, though at the time they were of value, because we knew not how long it might be before such an opportunity for inspection, cursory though it was, might be again afforded.

Among all the strange sensations generated by the events of the day there was that of a rush of *novel traditions*, superadded by our guides to the well-known fables of the Christians—a sensation of a totally new set of legends, bursting, as it were, into minds unprepared for coming into contact with the unpublished relics of the primitive apostles of Mohammedanism.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

Mecca and Medina were the birthplace of the religion promulgated by Mohammed, but it may fairly be questioned how far that religion would have obtained any serious hold upon the eastern nations had it not been inseparably linked with the great Jewish Sanctuary of Solomon's Temple. We here, in Europe, have so remote a connection with either the locality or the period, in which the most glorious centre of divine worship stood out for many hundred years as an object of reverence, admiration, curiosity, or awe to the eastern nations, that we can scarcely appreciate the fact that even to this hour there still lingers around the spot some faint halo of the ancient splendour —vague recollections and traditions, yet recollections and traditions still—of the time when there, on Moriah, at Jerusalem, *Solomon's Temple* was known to be the dwelling-place of divine glory.

To the site of Solomon's Temple, all desolate and desecrated as it was, Mohammed had made his early pilgrimage; with that spot he had associated his visions and his pretended revelations, and to it Omar, his successor, directed his steps in the very moment and flush of victory when the Holy City fell into his hands. He made inquiry for Solomon's Temple. He

remembered the description which Mohammed had given to him of the sacred spot, and was able to identify it when led thither. He at once set the example of reverence by beginning, with his own hands, to remove the mound of refuse which Christian fanatic zeal had piled, in despite of Jews and their religion, upon the Sacred Rock.

Omar himself prayed within the precincts of the Temple Enclosure, and Omar's successor took advantage of the veneration which the two first leaders of the Mohammedans had thus openly shown ; and for ever established the new faith in the ancient and well-known Sanctuary, and to this spot all Moslems direct their thoughts in connection with the future, when Mohammed is to repair thither with 'our Lord Jesus' on the not far distant day of resurrection of the believers and triumph of Islâm.

Our hurried inspection was near its end. The Pashà was leading the way back, and we all followed, and found ourselves again in the open air upon the noble pavement, or esplanade ; the lower, or outer, court of the Temple, with its small marble shrines, and a fountain (between the 'Aksa Mosque and the great Platform), with water from Solomon's Pools, among the trees. We were lost in astonishment at the beauty of the site—the Mount of Olives as seen from thence, and the Moab mountains—blue mountains just seen above the tips of the trees.

My Moslem friends pointed out our English church, and the Consulate beside it, upon the eminence of Zion. The towers of the fortress, and the Castle of David stood up grandly against the western sky. My guides prayed for a blessing upon the Consulate, just as within the 'Aksa they had lifted up their hands to pray for me, as they said all Moslems were doing in Hebron, while invoking destruction upon the house of Abderrahhmân el 'Amer. (The reason of this will appear in an after chapter.)

The numerous visitors had, generally speaking, formed themselves into distinct groups: the Royal party was the nucleus of one company, the English bishop of another; each consul had his own circle of followers.

No native Christians were there, all were Europeans.

Jews, even though in European costume, had no desire to enter the holy precincts so long as they remained defiled by the Gentiles, many of whose customs are in direct contrariety to the law of Moses: they believe that entrance thither will not be lawful till the locality be purified by the ashes of the red heifer (see Numbers xix. 2) from the pollution of dead corpses in the ancient wars, and from the modern Moslem practice of bringing the dead there for prayers of the mourners previous to interment. (The Jews are also deterred, as before said, by fear of walking over the place where the Law is concealed.)

We left the Sanctuary as we had entered it, escorted and guarded by the troops, the Pashà still leading the way through the small private door and passage of the Seraglio.

And we left it in safety, passing on at once into the street (the Via Dolorosa) homewards. Here we met Moslems of the city, who, now aware of what had been done, vehemently cursed the Christians in impotent rage as we passed. But we saw at a glance that the spell was broken, that, true to their faith, resignation to supreme destiny had already stopped any impulse there might have been in their minds to avenge the desecration of their Hharam. There were, indeed, but few Moslems abroad at the moment.

We walked slowly home; the transactions of the day had been of supreme importance and delight, supplying food for meditation long after the immediate excitement was over. It was clear that events would now move rapidly on, that more such firmâns would be brought, that the charm of seclusion was broken, that not only the fanatics, but our friend the quiet and virtuous student Shaikh Hhassan en Nâzek (a truly devout, simple Moslem, all gentleness and earnestly conscientious, as well as a constant frequenter of the Sanctuary for study and for devotion) must see many more Christians there.

But when we thought of Jewish times and events, the place assumed its true importance in the mind. There was the central point of the Old Testament; there had been Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Lord Jesus Christ, Paul, Peter, and John, and on that Rock had been the Holy of Holies, before which the veil was rent as on yesterday (Good Friday).

The object of most importance to my feelings was that rock under the dome; the next, the scarped rock (at the N.W. point where we had emerged from the Seraglio and on which we had first set foot), and the section (perpendicular) of rock on the north side on which the barracks are built, and where Antonia must have stood; the next the view of the Mount of Olives and of the Moab mountains.

What an Easter eve this had been!

Before taking any food or rest, I wrote a letter of thanks for the liberality and courtesy of the Pashà to British subjects. It was after the event that we were made fully acquainted with the difficulties under which he had carried out the Sultan's firmân.

Since this first infringement upon the superstitious seclusion of ages, other firmâns have ensured repetitions of the privilege, and admission to the Hharam has now become of common occurrence, without the necessity of special firmâns; but to the royal Belgian pilgrimage must be attributed the honour of having opened the Hharam of Jerusalem to Christian observation.[1]

That same night, from the windows of our house, we could see the blaze of light with which, as usual on this festival of Easter eve, the great Church of the Holy Sepulchre is lighted up, by means of countless lamps and candles within, and flambeaux in the open court without.

Our church was crowded next day (Easter day). There were about 115 communicants, of many nations, present.

On Easter Monday, their Royal Highnesses, the Duke and Duchess, left the city under a salute of guns from the castle.

The French authorities had not been easy at the Latin demonstration thus made under Austrian leadership by the Belgian Prince and Princess. They had taken but little part in the public proceedings.

Within the few days of their stay, the rumours which had been afloat for some time of a pilgrimage about to

[1] A curious incident had occurred three years before. A Russian ship of war arrived off Jaffa. As usual in such cases, detachments of the officers and men marched up to visit Jerusalem as pilgrims to the Holy Places. But on this occasion application was made on behalf of one of these parties to the authorities for their admission to the Noble Sanctuary of the Temple, on the ground that they were Moslems who desired to pray there. Permission was granted, and the men went through the Moslem ceremonial and prostrations for prayer. Some among the European residents questioned whether these men were all indeed Moslems.

be undertaken by a personage of higher rank still, namely by the French Empress, had gained so much consistency as to be universally announced from the French Consulate; and M. Botta had arranged for the reception of Her Majesty in the house of his neighbour, one of the Effendis, and the French Consulate thrown into one, having his large and well-kept garden stocked with rare flowers from the Jardin des Plantes belonging to both houses.

But this expectation of the Imperial pilgrimage was not then fulfilled.

As the next illustrious pilgrimage occurred a very short time afterwards, it will be convenient to include a mention of it also in this chapter. The pilgrim was, like the others, a member of the Latin Church. He was an Austrian by birth.

On June 28th, the Austrian Consul informed his colleagues of the approaching arrival of His Imperial Highness the Archduke Maximilian,[1] and as the history of this prince has since commanded our deep commiseration, it is with much interest that we refer to the opportunity of our having seen him in Jerusalem. His Imperial Highness arrived two days after, accompanied by a duke of the royal family of Wurtemberg, both being officers in the Austrian navy. On coming up straight from their ships at Jaffa, they were received by the Pashà in his pavilion, pitched once more upon the Maidân, though this time at a different spot, just before coming in sight of the Holy City.

The English bishop and the consuls were there and

[1] Since Emperor of Mexico.

were formally presented. The Archduke and his train were all a fine, manly-looking party. He wore among others the full insignia of the Golden Fleece.

After some rest the company arose and proceeded towards Jerusalem on foot; the Archduke and the Roman Catholic Consuls knelt upon the earth on obtaining the first view of the city.

Near the gates the same ceremonials were observed as on the Belgian visit; the guns of the castle fired a Royal salute, the procession of ecclesiastics went forth with the silver crucifix and the banners, a Litany was chanted, and the housetops were crowded with spectators. The crowds outside of the city had been immense, and the Austrian Jews, of whom there is a considerable body in Jerusalem, received the brother of their Emperor with shouts of joyful welcome. The captain of the frigate 'Imperatrice Elisabetta' (which had conveyed the party) and others of the officers formed part of the Archduke's suite.

Next day, Sunday, the Imperial visitor and his party entered the Hharam. There was neither excitement nor stir in the city, though, of course, the Pashà took all necessary precautions. The next day afterwards they went to Bethlehem, and left us finally on the morrow, proceeding northwards through the country. The visit had been stately, but without the parade of the former one.

A noteworthy incident occurred at the Convent of Mount Carmel, whither they proceeded from Caifa. On ascending the hill, the Archduke observed the huge French flag waving over the convent; but feeling a

natural repugnance to be placed under obligation to French protection within the Sultan's country, he sent forward a message, requesting to have an Austrian flag hoisted instead during his stay under the convent roof. The monks were thus placed in an unexpected dilemma, seeing that there were several Austrian subjects among their inmates, besides other nationalities, the President himself being Maltese, and therefore English, and *not one* inmate was French.[1]

A serious conclave was held, but, to the mortification of the monks as well as to the annoyance of the Imperial party, the former found themselves absolutely bound to use no other flag than that of the French (sole official 'Protectors of Christianity in the East'), and had to apologise accordingly.

With the tricolor floating in proud defiance, and the French Consular Agent from Caifa smiling and waiting to give a gracious reception, the only course remaining to the Archduke and his friends was to retrace their steps, without a visit to the convent and to the Sanctuary of Elijah the Prophet, which course was adopted.

The monks, however, felt keenly the offence they had been compelled to give the Austrian Prince. The Austrian authorities had stood by the convents in their disputes with the Latin Patriarch and his secular clergy, and in their resistance to the Patriarch's claim for control over the convent funds. Considerable sums were also derived annually by the convents of Terra Santa from the Austrian Roman Catholics. It was therefore peculiarly painful to

[1] There were four Maltese inmates out of fifteen. Shortly before there had been eleven out of fifteen, and not one French.

be obliged to affront a Prince whom the monks would have delighted to honour. But, on the other hand, the French had rendered signal services to this convent at the time of the dangers during the war of Greek independence; and it would be rank ingratitude of the Carmel monks to forget these services.

To return to Jerusalem and the effect of these two Royal visits. The Latin Church and its adherents in the country were much elated. The Austrian Consul acquired great glory among his friends, and envy from the rest.

There were Latins, as we have seen, to whom it was not pleasant that Austria should thus take the lead, if only for a time, in imposing demonstrations; and there were Germans to whom it was vexing that she should assert her weight as a Latin and an Imperial Power. The Pashà also received presents and honours (they came later) from both the Belgian and Austrian Courts in the form of State decorations: from the former that of Leopold (Grand Cross), and from the latter that of St. Francis Joseph (Grand Cordon), besides special recommendations to the Porte. Henceforth the Pashà, when in full dress, always appeared with his stars and gorgeous ribbons across his breast, as well as with the Nishans of Turkish orders; and the Moslems, no less than the Christians and Jews, looked upon it as a strange sign of the times to see the Moslem governor of the Holy City thus bedizened.

The military and other officials (not forgetting Shaikh Mohammed Danaf, Hereditary Guardian of the Noble Sanctuary) also derived favours from the same sources.

The convents at Ain Karem, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth; the churches, especially the Church of

the Holy Sepulchre, were not forgotten. To all of them handsome offerings were made by the illustrious pilgrims; and, after some months, there arrived in Jerusalem a bronze statue of Queen Helena, a gift from the Archduke Maximilian to the subterranean chapel of the Invention of the Cross, at the Holy Sepulchre Church.

These Royal visits were not the only public demonstrations made by the Latins during the period under consideration.

The monks in the Latin Convent had indulged in unheard of display a few months before the arrival of the Duke and Duchess of Brabant.

In the previous February (1855) there had been an occurrence in Jerusalem probably up to that time unprecedented. It was an illumination, with fireworks, on the roof of the Latin Convent, in honour of the Papal Bull decreeing the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.

It will be remembered that the Franciscans (this convent is of that order) have in all times been the staunch advocates of this dogma, in opposition to Benedictines and others. But this proceeding seemed to us then audacious in its character, not merely in a theological point of view, but politically under a Mohammedan *régime*.

It was considered that it could only have been ventured upon under the actual relations between France and Turkey.

As it was, there were no spectators more amused than the Turkish soldiers of the citadel, who sat on the parapets or on the top of the Tower of David (so-called),

looking at the long range of building marked out by double lines of lamps, and larger lamps at the corners, and laughing at one of the sects of Christians playing with gunpowder.

On the roof of the convent itself stood a wooden frame, serving as a shrine to a transparent figure of the Virgin in life-size, brilliantly lighted up. The blaze was visible all over the city and the country. Rockets and Catharine-wheels were discharged in abundance with childish glee by the friars, while on the same terrace, and from the houses belonging to families of the Latin sect, guns and pistols were fired off rejoicingly during several hours, the echoes of which reverberated from the Mount of Olives, all on account of the Bishop of Rome decreeing a new article of faith, this being the mildest phrase I can use to describe the event.

The city was in a state of surprise, for nothing of the kind had been announced beforehand. I learned from an artist (a Swiss Protestant), who had been for some time a guest in the Latin Hospice (Casa Nuova), that the friars and lay-brethren were chuckling in ecstacies of joy and announcing that very soon measures were about to be taken for widely extending the Roman Catholic interest in the country—measures that were to astonish the world. The fraternity had described to him these future measures, but bound him not to divulge them. For his own part he pressed eagerly upon me the necessity of England immediately doubling her influence in Palestine —which England was very unlikely to do, seeing that very few of our nation were aware that we had any influence

at all in Palestine, or that it could be useful to the population or to the world in general if we had.

This display had been got up with remarkable secrecy. The dragoman of the Latin Patriarch had, during the day, come to me about some business, and I asked him the meaning of some lights which we had seen the night before on the roof of the Latin Convent, and of some firing of guns. He told me it was a 'fantasia' of some of the servants of the convent, on account of a festival of the Virgin Mary. The festival must have been long arranged. Where did these hundreds, if not thousands, of lamps come from? Some were coloured blue and green.

We were informed that the Turkish commandant had given some of the squibs and rockets for the display. It was a beautiful night, calm and warm, and crowds of people looked at the strange sight 'upon the housetop.' Had such a thing been attempted but a few years before, the Moslems would have risen *en masse* to stop it; but times were changed and changing, and one proof was before us in this strange combination of monks and illuminations, and squibs and crackers, by night in the Holy City.

A more private ceremonial had taken place not very long before. But it was one to which the Latins also attached considerable importance.

This was the creation, in the month of December, of two new 'Knights of the Holy Sepulchre' by the Latin Patriarch. These knights were French gentlemen, and they made up the number of 160 since Chateaubriand.

At the time of investiture the recipients declare them-

selves to be of the Roman Catholic religion, and vow to hold themselves ready, on any summons of sufficient authority, to join their fellow knights or companions, fully armed, for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre from the dominion of infidels. Substitutes, however, are allowed in cases of urgent necessity. The fee to be paid amounts, as I was informed, to 1,210 francs (about 50*l.* sterling).

The knighthood is only conferred on persons actually visiting the Holy Sepulchre, and the decoration was only recognised at that time in the Roman States, or in Austria. Since then it is said to be only acknowledged in the former.[1]

The French Consul, M. Helouis de Jorelle, had been thus knighted in 1848, on his return to Europe.

Only conceive the odd circumstance of the above solemn vows being made at the 'Santissimo Sepolcro,' with the formalities of watching, fasting, and prayers, and the *accolade* of Godfrey de Bouillon's sword, and investiture of his spurs, within ear-shot of the Moslem effendis, who are sitting within the porch calmly smoking chibooks or drinking sherbet, in simple unconsciousness of the tenour of the vows and promises thus made!

Strange, among the many strange things that are done by Europeans within the Sultan's dominions!

[1] In 1856 an English clergyman wrote to me on behalf of a friend to learn the terms on which a person can acquire the privileges of that order.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SUCCOUR TO THE WEAK.

Oppressed Communities — Samaritans, Abyssinians, Jews, Syrians, and others—Relief extended to them by means of Friendly Offices.

From the exciting topics of the preceding chapter let us turn to one of a different character, namely, to the existence of the sect of the Samaritans, still clustered round Mount Gerizim in Nabloos (Shechem), few in number, and subject to Mohammedan oppression. The intervention of the British Consulate on their behalf had some time before obtained for them permission to resume their Passover sacrifice on Gerizim, their sacred mountain.

This year they sent a deputation to London to solicit subscriptions on behalf of their poor, and of certain individuals of their body who were cruelly and illegally imprisoned as debtors.

Their petition was addressed to the Government and people of Britain, written in duplicate on the same large page, in Arabic and in their own ancient and peculiar language, each version being ratified with the seal of the community, which is inscribed in both Arabic and Samaritan characters. The agent, Jacob esh Shellabi, one of themselves, excited particular interest among oriental scholars and others in England, and met with success at the Foreign Office.

Lord Clarendon sent them a donation of 50*l.*, in case of their circumstances being as they were represented to be; and the despatch contained an instruction that in case of necessity good offices might be exerted to save the Samaritan people from persecution, from whatever quarter it might be directed against them.

This was at the end of September, 1854, and in the succeeding April His Lordship repeated the assurance of the interest which Her Majesty's Government took in the Samaritan sect, and instructed Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to use his good offices with the Porte in favour of that community. British patronage to this extent proved of considerable benefit to the poor people for some years, and they were at all times grateful for the same.

While dealing in this sense with Asiatic people—the strong adopting the cause of the weak—the Scriptural proverb is peculiarly applicable, 'A word spoken in season, how good is it!'

Many a heart has been cheered, and many a tear been dried of the widow, the orphan, and the dungeon prisoner, by virtue of those few words sent from London, without direct political interference, without calling in question the right of the Turkish Government to rule its own subjects.

Priest Amrân and his people will ever bless the friendly offices of England at that period—which were, however, afterwards impeded and defied by the Turkish Government, in the person of a most able and unscrupulous Pashà, so soon as the termination of the war had let loose intrigue, and had invigorated the internal management of affairs by Turkish officers.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

Overt acts of oppression and injustice were not attempted till interested and watchful advisers persuaded the Turkish officials that England had reversed her benevolent policy, and that henceforth illegal or oppressive measures towards the Sultan's subjects would meet with neither notice nor check; but that rather any Englishman, or British authority, would be put down and got rid of, who might be unable, through long habit, or by reason of his native instincts, to shut his eyes, or to behold in silence, acts iniquitous in themselves, and impolitic as undermining the fabric of the Turkish Empire, and sapping the young life and liberties of its best subjects.

Turkish Pashàs were but human after all. Some among them had, within the last twenty years, been intelligent enough to perceive that their own self-interests were best furthered by obedience to the Sultan's pleasure and set purpose of toleration for all his people, just because their obedience was watched and reported with commendation, (and any disobedience was as surely reported, with blame,) by independent observers, who were able to have their representations transmitted to the highest authorities, when investigations into their accuracy were sure to follow. During twenty years this system had worked, and had made an impression. The change brought about had been great; the poor and the oppressed rejoiced, for justice had begun to be a reality as well as a name.

But there were many, and especially among the fanatical school, to whom supervision was irksome and distasteful, as being exercised by Christians and Europeans. There were others who longed to get back to the good old days when irresponsible government meant liberty to make a fortune speedily, to exact bribes, to imprison for reward, to release for a consideration. To those it was music to hear that non-intervention was to be the grand fruit and result of the Crimean War; that there was to be once more 'liberty'—to do evil; 'toleration'—of abuses.

These were not patriotic Turks, or they would have seen

what deadly ruin to their Empire the restoration of such 'liberty' and such 'toleration' must work. They were poor fools, intoxicated with pride, and only too glad to heed the whisperings of flattery, that now at last Turkey was independent, that she had entered into the comity of nations, and that it behoved her to exercise her independence, and refuse to be led in leading strings.

Henceforth the provincial governors were to be men under no guidance but their own; free to walk to destruction, and to carry with them the people under them, and the Sultan over them; under no obligation to listen to any words of unpalatable truth, or to have dealings of a friendly character with men who could point out to them the dangers ahead, into which the vessel of the State was being adroitly steered back into the troubled waters whence she had but so lately barely escaped. The helm had been reversed, though men perceived it not. Mischief works quickly. Insurrections, risings, seditions, massacres, were not far distant; but most of the Turkish Pashàs believed, with a joy pitiable to witness, that the Ottoman Empire was now at last firmly established, and that her independence was for ever beyond the possibility of menace or of danger. They believed it because they were told so; and ruin had begun.

I recollect one case of oppression shortly previous to this time, that of a young Samaritan, then a Moslem. While a mere child, some Mohammedans having treated him with sweetmeats, taught him to repeat their confession of faith, 'There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is the Apostle of God.' Immediately two of their number repaired to the Kâdi's Court, and deposed on oath (their form of legal oath consists merely of holding up the right hand and saying the words 'By God,' an expression used all day long in conversation profanely, without real solemnity at all) that they had heard the child make the

above confession. The judge accordingly deemed him to be a true believer; and, in consequence, he was taken away from his 'infidel' parents. In vain he protested that he was no Moslem, but a Samaritan, and that he knew nothing about Mohammed; in vain were all the tears and wailings of his parents and friends: the law was inflexible to enforce creed of Islâm or death. They endeavoured to overcome his obstinacy by bribes of everything likely to prevail with a boy; and, this treatment failing, they brandished a sword over his head, and still only succeeded by laying his head at the mouth of a cannon!

Poor fellow! at one of my interviews with his people he came into the room among the strangers, now grown a fine tall man, but wearing a white turban (proper for Moslems) instead of a red one (the colour used by the Samaritans is red). His two brothers were present, and after his departure they related the history to me. I well remember the mournful expression of his countenance and the silent tears of his family; but even they, while hoping against hope for his restitution to them, though it might be by miracle, considered any undertaking on our part doubtful of success, as so many years had already passed over since the apostasy; nay, even the priest and elders were fearful of persecution arising were the Moslem rulers to get an idea into their heads that the Samaritans applied to the Christian Consulate for help.

This was before their condition had been taken into consideration by the British Government as above mentioned. So much of vexation and oppression might in divers ways be brought to bear upon the community

which could not claim cognizance of authorities elsewhere.

Before leaving this remarkable people it may be observed that their number is now but small, being reduced to about 150 souls at the very utmost, and all are gathered together under the shadow of Mount Gerizim, their other settlements in Gaza, Cairo, &c., having become extinct. They are a handsome race in stature and feature, with a refined, pale complexion, and (probably the effect of close inter-marriages, to which they are driven by their fewness), they all bear a noticeable family likeness to each other.

They are extremely cleanly in persons and houses, a quality favoured by the abundance of water with which the town is supplied; for numerous and copious are the springs which gush from their mountain, at its centre, and in the valley at its foot.

Their ancient enmity towards the Jews still subsists, although under the Mohammedan oppression, which crushes both parties, that animosity chiefly appears in the form of dislike, which keeps them aloof from each other; indeed, there are scarcely any Jews resident in Nabloos.[1]

When coming to Jerusalem, which they occasionally do on business, the Samaritans lodge and eat with the Karaites, as being their nearest friends. The Rabbinical Jews make no secret of their hatred of both peoples, more especially of the latter; so much so that they will not accept a convert from amongst them unless he first passes through the stage of professing to be a Moslem or

[1] For the best account of their manners and customs, history, &c., see Mill's 'Modern Samaritans' (Murray), 1864.

a Christian, as being a less odious kind of infidel, and this merely on account of rejecting the Pharisaic traditions, and adhering to the plain grammatical text of the Pentateuch.

Here is a lesson that might be expatiated on with advantage as paralleled among other religious bodies.

The Karaites acknowledge only the *written* word of the Old Testament to have Divine authority; hence their name of *Karaites*, or 'readers.'

There was another small community of feeble folk which had turned to us for such kind offices as might be rendered by permission of the British Government. But these were Christians from Africa.

The matter of British patronage over the Abyssinians resident in Jerusalem began to assume definite form about this time.

The Abyssinian community had increased of late years, and there were generally from 80 to 100 to be found in their convent near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. They were mostly extremely poor, having spent all their money in the long journey, which lasted for months, between Abyssinia and Jerusalem. And they were a quiet inoffensive people, seldom seen in the streets of Jerusalem, or in the bazaars, but keeping within their own convent, the poorest of all the convents in Jerusalem.

In 1852, a short time previous to the public career of Theodore, subsequently King of Abyssinia, the military chief, Ras Oobia of Tigré, and Ras Ali of Amhara, together with the leading ecclesiastics of the country, had an amicable conference, in which, among other subjects

dealt with, they decided on petitioning Queen Victoria that Bishop Gobat and the English Consul in Palestine might be authorised to superintend the affairs of their pilgrims resorting to the Holy Sepulchre, and residing in their own national Abyssinian convent at Jerusalem.

It must be remembered that Abyssinia, lying as it does on the shores of the Red Sea, is within reach of news from India, and that the power and dominion of Queen Victoria and of the British nation are better appreciated there than might have been expected.

Not only so, but, lying opposite to Arabia, the very birth-place of Mohammed, and cradle of the religion of Islâm, the rise and spread of that religion excited the keenest interest from the earliest times in this land of Christian people. That interest was naturally much quickened by the subjugation of Egypt, the powerful northern neighbour of this country, as well as of other countries adjacent, and by the efforts made again and again, but hitherto always without success, to impose the yoke upon Abyssinia itself.

Safe in their inaccessible mountains, the Abyssinians have always been able to resist the attacks of Moslem invaders, and to preserve their independence.

It was not clearly understood at the time of the petition (above referred to), being addressed to Queen Victoria, that the Turks advanced any political claims upon the realm of Abyssinia, and it would even seem that the Ottoman authorities had only cautiously hinted at the idea whenever the topic happened to be mooted. They certainly had never conquered Abyssinia. We had a

knowledge of the island and seaport of Massowah being held by a Turkish functionary sent over from Arabia on the opposite coast, but that did not seem to imply dominion over the far inland and mountainous regions of Tigré, Shoa, or Amhara, where no Turk had ever been seen or would be tolerated. Such an idea as that was not propounded till afterwards; we could then just as well have imagined that the English holders of Gibraltar were likewise proprietors of the Castilles and of the kingdom of Spain.

In fact, we had in 1841 concluded a treaty with the King of Shoa under the supposition that he was about to become monarch of all Ethiopia; and had made another treaty in 1849 with Ras Ali, of Amhara, under a similar expectation in regard to him; and in both of these transactions we had made no reference whatever to the Turks, as in any possible way having claim, authority, or jurisdiction over the Christian country of Abyssinia.

Mr. Plowden, a British Consul, had for some years resided in Abyssinia; and through him and another Englishman, Mr. Bell, General of the Abyssinian army, the people had become better acquainted than before with English ideas. They attached great importance to the fact that England was not only a Christian, but a Protestant, country. To the Church of Rome they ascribed much of the troubles which had befallen their land, since the efforts made during several centuries by the Jesuits to bring Abyssinia under subjection to the Papal See. It was therefore to England that they turned for help and protection for their people in the Holy City, Jerusalem.

The result of their appeal to London was an authorisation from the Foreign Office to the British Consul at Jerusalem to use good offices for the Abyssinians in the Holy City, in case of need, 'as members of a Christian Church in spiritual communion with the Established Church in this country.' There was inexactness in the description here given, except in the sense that all baptised Christians over the world are in spiritual communion with each other.

The Abyssinians in Jerusalem had, however, been placed under the guidance of the English Bishop by their King.

However, what was thus done for the Abyssinians in Jerusalem proved to be a great blessing to them for the time, and they felt the advantage of having ever so slight a degree of countenance from the power of England. There was only one point on which prudence was needful—namely, in dealing with the questions concerning the disputes of the Copts about the property belonging to them and the Abyssinians, which lay immediately adjoining the Great Church of the Holy Sepulchre. We did not wish to give any cause for the idea that England was about to intrude into the contentions of Jerusalem about the holy places. The Abyssinian property was, however, very distinct from the great sanctuaries.

Personally I felt a peculiar interest in the condition of these poor African Christians; and Bishop Gobat had cause for still deeper feeling on their behalf, having been previously a missionary in their country, and having preserved a knowledge of their language. Hence it

followed that these gentle oppressed people were constantly laying their distresses before him, and invoking his aid.

It had, indeed, been through his hands that the petition from the Amhara and Tigré chiefs was transmitted to our Queen in 1852.

The Abyssinians have the highest love and veneration for Jerusalem, and pilgrimages from their country to the Holy Land have been common from very early ages. They became possessed of a good deal of land, on which they had built churches and convents.

But, inasmuch as the Church of Abyssinia is a daughter of the Coptic Church in Egypt, and has always received the consecration of her Aboona from the Coptic Patriarch in Egypt, it is natural that the Copts should have exercised a certain amount of dominion over them, especially in Palestine, whenever their own Sovereign, the Moslem ruler of Egypt, happened to be also ruler of the Holy Land. It was difficult for the Abyssinians even to get to Palestine without passing through Egyptian territory. This dominion often amounted to tyranny, and the Moslem rulers of Egypt have encouraged the domination of the Copts over the Abyssinians, for it enabled them to exercise some control over this gallant little Christian nation, which Moslem arms had never been able to subdue in their own country.

The Turks, in their turn, afterwards attempted to reason somewhat in this fashion: 'The Abyssinians are of the same religion with the Copts in Egypt. . . . The Copts are Turkish subjects because Egypt is a Turkish province, therefore'—the Turks concluded the syllogism

in their own favour, 'the Abyssinians are, *or ought to be*, Turkish subjects.'

But the Abyssinians had hitherto lived an independent people under the government of their own Kings, who had had dealings with England, and had concluded a treaty with that country (which treaty had, among other advantages, guaranteed them free access to their own seaboard). They considered themselves competent to send Ambassadors to England as any other nation might, and to choose, as all other nations did, some foreign Consul who might exercise a protectorate over their people living in the Holy Land. The Abyssinians were ever indignant at the notion of their being considered in any sense under the Turkish Pashà's jurisdiction in Jerusalem. They regarded themselves as of foreign (not Turkish) nationality, and as Christians never subject to the Moslem yoke. They had asked England for spiritual direction through her Bishop, and for protection through her Consuls.

I have said more that might be of Abyssinian affairs in Jerusalem, but this is sufficient for introduction of the subject prior to the coronation of their new king Theodore, in 1855.

They had for many years possessed only the one Convent and the one Church in Jerusalem. The Armenians as well as the Copts had despoiled them in past times; but the Armenians were bound to supply them with a weekly dole of food in return for some of their property; and this they did supply, though often bad in quality, and insufficient in quantity.

In March 1855, the Abyssinians presented a very

humble petition at the Consulate, in their native Amharic, complaining of the Copts their neighbours, who were prosecuting their object (long since entertained) of depriving them of their church, and the remainder of their convent. It was a painful spectacle to see these black Christian clergymen and pilgrims express their gratitude for the little help I could at the moment promise them, namely, to confer with the English Bishop on their behalf. Some spread their hands above their heads in prayer; some kissed the table or the books upon it; others prostrated the face upon the ground with hands outspread, notwithstanding all efforts to raise them from such humble attitudes. It was no commonplace sentiment that prompted the thought from the heart—'Am I not a man and a brother?' Many other piteous scenes of that nature occurred afterwards.

At the same time we had as partakers of the daily instruction at our little Jerusalem College, under Mr. Beamont, six Germans (mostly mechanics) destined for semi-missionary labour in Abyssinia, under the English Bishop's supervision, while they were at the same time learning the Amharic language in the Abyssinian Convent. The work carried on by these men, after arriving at the scene of operations (which was contemporaneously with the rise of Theodore), became afterwards matter of some notoriety, but does not belong to our present subject. The ablest of these missionaries, the Rev. J. Flad, afterwards entered the service of the Jewish Mission Society.

The Abyssinians who came to Jerusalem as pilgrims were, some of them, of the upper classes in their own

country. They could read and write in their own language, and had paid the expenses of the long journey from Abyssinia out of the money they had saved up—sometimes for many years before—to enable them to visit the Holy City, held in reverence by them little short of the reverence with which they regard Heaven. After they became acquainted with us and our ways, the younger men used to come to us and enter our English families as servants, for a year or two, to enable them to earn enough for the return journey to their own land. Some of these young men were of respectable position in their own country, and made intelligent and excellent servants.

They sometimes had a treasured MS. copy of one of the Gospels or of the Psalter; but were greatly delighted in reading the Bible, a copy of which we had in our Literary Society's Library, and which they had never seen before, as a whole, and of which many of them did not know the existence, excepting in the small portion which they happened to possess.

All that this little body of African Christians asked of us was protection from molestation, that they might live unmolested, in the little Convent left to them, and worship God in their one Church and at the Tomb of our Saviour as their fathers had done before them.

When they did appeal to the British Consul for succour, it was because some haughty Moslem had beaten them in the street in passing by. The Moslems of Jerusalem have a tradition that some day the Abyssinian Christians are to conquer the Holy City, arriving in such numbers that each man will carry off one stone of the

walls, and thus demolish the fortifications; and they hate this only nation in that part of the World which still holds out unconquered and unsubdued by the armies of Islâm.

Or sometimes, as on the occasion alluded to above, they came to set forth their complaint of some fresh intrigue on the part of the Copts, to take from them their church. And the Copts always could count upon the willing help of the Egyptian Moslems and of the Turks in any spoliation or aggression which might bring them under the Moslem dominion. Sometimes they came to show the wretched food given at the kitchen of the wealthy Armenian Convent, and ask us to mediate that a better quality might be bestowed, and in quantity sufficient to appease their hunger.

A few words addressed during a friendly visit to the authorities never failed, in those days, to receive attention and to cause an improvement in the matters complained of. The Turkish Pashàs did not bring forward any question as to whether the Abyssinians might, or might not, be *subjects* of the Sultan, or *foreign* settlers from an independent nation, free to choose for themselves a Consular protector. These were questions which they were politic enough to leave undisturbed. It was quite sufficient for the exigencies of the cases, as they arose, that his Imperial Majesty the Sultan desired all who lived within his dominions to enjoy security and the free exercise of their religion and of their rights; and that British Consuls and all British officials were instructed to lay before the Turkish authorities, for inquiry and redress, any cases of alleged wrong or persecution which might come

under their notice. Turkish Pashàs were well aware that British Consuls not only brought such cases under their own notice, but that they also repeated them to the British Ambassador, who never failed to bring them before the Turkish Government, if necessary.

By this system of quiet vigilance the benevolent intentions of His Majesty the Sultan were carried out, and an increasing measure of security, with civil and religious liberty, was obtained for even the feeblest and most despised dwellers in the Turkish Empire; and this was done without any necessity for raising difficult questions of politics or of religion.

The Turkish Government were great gainers by this system, which so quietly extended relief to all who were oppressed. Envy and jealousy were stirred in others Some did not like to see Protestants exercise influence in the Holy City; others dreaded lest England should become too much regarded as the helper of the oppressed; others knew full well that if this course were pursued steadily and impartially, the nations and Churches subject to Turkey would rise from the dust, and would raise up the Empire with them, in which case there would be no Eastern Question to settle by force of arms or otherwise.

The workings of this ignoble envy and jealousy were visible enough, but at that time they were powerless to check in any great degree the beneficent effects of what was then our British policy in Turkey.

The Samaritans and the Abyssinians were far from being the only people who sought good offices at the British Consulate when in trouble.

On the same day that the Abyssinian deputation referred to above had their interview, there was an Ashkenaz Jew who came to complain of ill-treatment received in the synagogue. His account was that they had thrown him down the stone steps, loaded him with opprobrious epithets, and endeavoured to tear open his jaws, merely for having, on the previous day, accepted a few piastres from one of the missionaries on the occasion of a family festivity.

This was the nearest approach that I had known to a literal carrying out of the famous Talmudist law, of 'rending the Am-ha-aretz (ignorant man) like a fish.' Violent measures were often adopted by synagogue authorities, and by fanatical Jews, to punish the heinous offence of resorting to the house of missionaries, but this special mode of penalty was to me novel. Being a case of alleged actual assault, the man could only be advised to take the case to the proper authorities, if he was willing and able to substantiate his charge.

Soon afterwards there came the Syrian (Jacobite) Bishop to represent personally an extensive plunder and massacre of the Syrian people by the Kurds near Mardin, in the north of Syria—(Mesopotamia, where the Jacobite Syrian Patriarch resides. This district was then, as now, exposed to violence from the fanatic and lawless Kurdish hordes, who had risen as much for the sake of plunder as for defence of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey against the Russian Christian invaders, whose action was imperilling the lives of all the helpless Christians of the remoter districts).

After hearing the details, it seemed that all that

could be done at the moment was to transmit to our Consul-General at Bayroot any memorial of the case which the Syrian Bishop could furnish.

The Syrians in Jerusalem have dwindled into a very small body; they also have lost the greater part of their ancient Church property in the Holy City, through seizure by other Eastern Churches and by the Moslems. They looked to us for friendship, not only as being fellow Christians, but on account of the community of their people in India, known to us through Dr. Buchanan's researches, as St. Thomas Christians.

An English-speaking member of this little Asiatic Church would occasionally find his way to the Holy City from India, and take up his abode at the Syrian Convent during his stay. These poor people delighted to claim friendship with the British Consul, and to show that they could talk with him, however imperfectly, in the English language. Strange to have English-speaking pilgrims from that distant land among the dark-skinned St. Thomas Christians and among the lithe Moslem natives of Hindostan, as well as other parts of our Indian Empire!

The very same day there arrived a letter from the Priest of the Samaritans, Amrâm, complaining of having been beaten and kicked in the streets of Nabloos, this by a soldier, and in presence of the new Governor.

These were among the incidents in which Consular good offices were exercised otherwise than in direct duties on behalf of British subjects. Friendly intervention in cases of lament from even native people for violence, or for other irregularities suffered, often obtained

redress; and, even when that failed, the sufferers were sure to have felt some comfort in at least telling over their grievances.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

So certain were people that a tale of trouble would be at least listened to, and in all probability gain redress, that cases were known in which the evil-doer, on seeing that his victim was taking the street leading to the British Consulate, would run after him, saying, 'Don't go there; I'll attend to you. If you go to the Consul he'll go to the Pashà, and the Pashà must send for me; and I shall have to spend money on the police, and the officers, and everybody; better give you a little than much to them.' It was actually cheaper to do justice than to suffer a complaint to reach the Turkish authorities through the British Consulate.

It was not only in Jerusalem and Palestine that this kind of influence was being exercised by British officers, but in Damascus, in Asia Minor, in European Turkey, everywhere where honest Englishmen were carrying out the humane intentions of our Government, as directed by our Ambassador in Constantinople and by our Foreign Office in London.

CHAPTER XXVII.

INSURRECTION ATTEMPTED AND PUT DOWN.

'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer once more in revolt—Critical condition of Hebron and South Palestine—Mehemet Kubrisli Pashà, Commander-in-Chief in Damascus—Council of Consuls summoned by the Pashà—Nabloos also disturbed—Pashà marches out with the Garrison and the field-pieces—Safety for British residents even now—Pashà's visit to Urtas—Attempt to catch Sâf ez Zeer—Seizure of wrong men—Pashà marches for Hebron—Invites Consuls to send their deputies with him to watch operations against 'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer, who is proclaimed a rebel, and his brother is appointed Shaikh in his place—Siege of Idna—Intrigues and treachery—Vice-Consul Rogers discovers that one mortar is spiked—He points the other—The Pashà fires—Idna is won—Treachery of the Turkish Commander—Plot to cut off the Pashà's retreat by taking Hebron in his rear—'Abderrahhmân's European friends—Good effects of the capture of Idna—Shaikh Muslehh's submission to the Pashà—'Abderrahhmân takes flight—Complaint made of the Turkish Commander's conduct—Strange result—Korban Bairâm Festival at Pashà's Camp at Hebron—Peace restored in South Palestine and intrigues checked — Sebastopol still untaken — Unfriendly rumours — Tales of bribery circulated against the Pashà—'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer remains at large—Recruiting for the Land Transport Corps.

In the month of June I with my family had gone to live for a while in tents among the gardens at Urtas (near to Bethlehem on the south). Our health had been considerably impaired of late, and change was needed. This place being about seven miles from Jerusalem, it was hoped that a visit every other day or so to the office would suffice to keep business in order, and that people would give us a little respite from incessant applications for all kinds of affairs. But the feeling of rest from

overwork had scarcely begun to be enjoyed, when, in less than one week, news was brought us of troubles having broken out in Hebron and its vicinity.

'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer was once more in open revolt against the Government.

The tidings were followed by an invitation from the Pashà to all the Consuls to come and deliberate with him on the measures to be adopted under the emergency.

This step was taken by his Excellency in reference to the general state of affairs, rather than to the concern any one Consul, or all of them put together, might have in Hebron, seeing that the French had but one person under protection in Hebron, and the Prussians only one.

The Austrian and the English Consuls had a good many subjects and *protégés*, and these were Jews. There are no Christians there.

During my absence from Jerusalem some time before there had been uneasiness on the subject of 'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer's conduct, and the Pashà had been induced to call a Consular council together for the purpose of discussing what should be done. The Prussians were nervous lest a French army of occupation should come to hold Palestine till the conclusion of the war, and talked about sending a request to the Embassies at Constantinople for a body of Egyptian troops to come and hold the country.

It had also been suggested that 'Abderrahhmân might be replaced in authority over Hebron, in consideration of his paying a very large sum of money to the Sultan as a subsidy.

In advising this, people overlooked the impropriety

of giving Egypt a hold once more over Syria; and, secondly, the fearful extortions which 'Abderrahhmân would practise upon all the inhabitants of the Hebron district in order to recoup himself for the money given to the Sultân; and more serious still would be the loss of prestige if the Ottoman Government should thus proclaim its inability to repress the disorders caused by a mere peasant chief, otherwise than by putting him into office as a reward for his turbulence.

The whole state of affairs was critical. The Hebron district was one of those in the country affording plenty of opportunity for the purpose of keeping up the 'open sores,' so advantageous for the adversaries of Turkey.

Here this same 'Abderrahhmân had kept the country in hot water before, and constantly, ever since the expulsion of the Egyptians from Syria. His shameless exactions and tyranny when in power, and his rebellions and intrigues for restoration when occasionally driven out by the Turkish authorities, had been a scandal for years.

And it was notorious that he had a powerful protector at Damascus in the Commander-in-Chief (Seriasker) Mehemet Kubrisli Pashà, the same who, when Governor of Jerusalem in 1846–7, had taken Hebron by storm, and allowed his soldiers to sack the town.

None knew better than this Pashà how to make use of the rivalries in our district—among the village chiefs and wild Arabs, among the foreign Consulates and their *employés*, among the Greek and Latin Christians and convents, and among the Moslem Effendis in the Council in Jerusalem. He knew them all.

'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer had resorted to him since

his residence in Damascus, and found that, when hard-pressed, he could get there within four days from Hebron by riding almost day and night, up the Jordan Valley.

This Hebron business was therefore one that ought not to be trifled with. In proportion to the anarchy that might prevail in our Pashalic, was the danger of its extension to other and less guarded districts in Palestine, and the European nations could not but take great interest in any serious troubles, should they now break out in Palestine. The Pashà's disquietude, and his reasons for inviting all the Consuls to take part in concerting measures, and to be present, at least by deputy, while he was carrying them out at Hebron, were explained afterwards, when the serious difficulties that beset him became known.

However, unusual though it was, and in some respects undesirable, for the Pashà to be under what might at least seem tutelage, I obeyed the summons; and, riding hastily to Jerusalem, entered the Divan. The result of the conference was that vigorous measures ought to be adopted. The Pashà himself was to proceed to Hebron with the battalion of infantry and the brass field-pieces from the castle, and there await permission from Damascus to resort to military force. (It will be remembered that it was in connection with 'Abderrahhmân and Hebron that the prohibition to use the regular troops without express permission from Damascus had been issued to a former Pashà by the same Commander-in-Chief.)

The Pashà was only to use his troops at once in case of extreme necessity, in which case the Consuls undertook to make joint representation to the higher authorities as to the need for instant measures having to be adopted.

At the same time it was agreed that the aid of other country chiefs loyal to the Government might be engaged in putting down the disaffected parties.

The vote was unanimous.

On the road to town I had met near Rachel's Sepulchre a company of Bashi-Bozuks convoying a store of ammunition, carried in canvas bags on mules.

I returned alone and quite in the dark to our camp. Here at Urtas, we were about fourteen miles from Hebron and within reach of all the information which the natives of the district had to give, which was a considerable advantage.

We were well aware of the deficient *morale* of our Pashà; yet it was with surprise and vexation that I learned next day from my kawwâs, who had been to Jerusalem on business, that returning along the Bethlehem Plain (as we called the table land immediately south of Jerusalem), he had been accompanied as far as Bethlehem by Hhaj Mustafa Abu Gosh, who was proceeding to the rebel 'Abderrahhmân to meet and confer on the wild hills east of us in the territory of the tribe of Ta'amra Arabs. (By ascending the hills at the foot of which our tents were, we could see within a few miles clusters of the black tents of these Arabs.) For the Pashà to meet 'Abderrahhmân thus would, in the eyes of the natives, have implied that he, the Turkish Governor of the district, placed himself under guarantee from danger of this tribe—a most derogatory proceeding—besides the evident impropriety of conferring with a rebel in any place under the circumstances.

Indignant at this sequel to the conclave of Consuls, to

which the Turkish Governor had called us, I lost no time in sending his Excellency a written remonstrance on the subject. Whether the other Consuls were acquainted at this time with this change of the Pashà's designs I know not.

The night afterwards Deeäb, chief of the Bedawy tribe of 'Adwân, from beyond Jordan, passed by on his way to Jerusalem, going northwards to meet some of the Nabloos faction at Beeré, which boded no good. We were to have troubles north as well as south.

The Turkish major in command and two principal members of the Abu Gosh family were sent after him to remonstrate, and recall him, advising him to go home and mind his own business. Mischief was clearly afoot, and pretty wide-spread. Next morning the Pashà told me mysteriously that the scheme of a conference among the hills had been concerted for entrapping 'Abderrahhmân personally (as a previous Pashà, Mehemet Kubrisli Pashà, had succeeded in entrapping Abu Gosh and other chiefs some years before), but that, as it did not seem to promise success, he should revert to the line previously marked out.

The treacherous design, so characteristically Turkish, was, of course, one in which the Consuls never could have participated.

Kiamil Pashà therefore, next day, marched out with the battalion and the field-pieces, but for a feint, not at first in the direction of Hebron. He first went northwards towards Nabloos where there was, indeed, some disturbance. A Turkish governor had been sent to replace the native chief Tokân, who resisted his entry.

Arabs were brought in on both sides, villagers had been plundered, and many lives lost.

But even this was nothing in comparison with the dangers that menaced the south in and through Hebron.

The Pashà advanced as far as Beeré (less than three hours from Jerusalem), and halting there, negotiated with the rioters from thence. He returned to us in a week, under a salute of guns from the Castle, bringing with him a few miserable peasants whom a troop of Bashi Bozuk had caught near Sinjil (not at Nabloos or its vicinity), and these prisoners of war were paraded in chains along the bazaars.

There was now, as far as we could learn, a lull in affairs, both on the side of the seditious and of the Government: at any rate for a while the Hebron affair dropped.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

Being now again in tents for the summer, we had fresh opportunities for observing the safety and comfort in which we, and others who adopted the same plan, were able to live out in the open country, and go about in perfect freedom. It was not only that the Consul himself could do as he repeatedly did, come back after a long day's work in Jerusalem, riding the seven miles to Urtas over valleys and hills quite alone, leaving his kawwâs to follow him when he had broken his fast—for it was now the month of Ramadân, and being summer, the long days of abstinence were peculiarly trying to Moslems who had work to do by day—and the kawwâsses of the British Consulate had anything but a sinecure in their office. The Journal at this time has entries like these: 'Returned from Jerusalem alone by moonlight; all silent roads; plenty of glowworms, especially near Rachel's Sepulchre.' The Meshullam family were living in the farm—all that distance from Jerusalem—on the edge of

the territory of the wild Ta'amra, and out of the reach of any possible assistance but what we or the nearest villagers might give; there they and their little children lived and went about the valleys or on the mountains, sleeping at night sometimes in the open air, and always with open doors and windows, the cattle (which were good), the crops, the fruit, and the grain, and the vegetables, in tempting profusion all around, yet untouched by even a passing thief.

We were in our tents, far up the valley, without any guards, excepting the one kawwâs usually in attendance on the Consul, but sometimes without even that one armed servant, when business required him to be sent elsewhere (kawwâsses always carry arms); and the ladies and children of our party rambled early and late, before sunrise in the grey morning, in the cool of the evening, or by moonlight at night, wherever a beautiful view from the tops of the mountains, or pretty glen among the valleys, was to be enjoyed.

After a while we returned to our own Talibiyeh—nearer Jerusalem, it is true, for we were but a mile by the road, and in reality nearer still to the city gate and walls; but we were encamped on the open hill-side, and when the city gates were shut and locked by night we might as well have been twenty miles away as one, in so far as protection was concerned, for any amount of mischief might have been done before the sleepy soldiers inside could have been awakened.

And when business in other parts of the country called the Consul away—sometimes for three or four weeks at a time—the camp was as quiet and safe as before: not a sound or movement to alarm the solitary person who might be sitting up at dead of night, for work, or passing from one tent to another—for the tents were scattered over two or three acres of ground, so that it was a little walk to visit from one to another—there were no guards, no armed servants within reach, sometimes not even a kawwâs (for they had often to be sent off on official business), only an old groom sleeping near his horses and donkeys; and yet these animals were valuable, and might have been supposed likely to tempt an Arab thief; but the animals were known.

In that country a good horse or ass is known almost as well as his master, sometimes better, and no thief would, in those days, have ventured to have been seen with one of ours: not even one of the wild Arabs would have risked the trouble and expense certain to follow on his detection.

The remarkable part of all this was that there were thieves in the country—who lived by pilfering and robbery—and evil-doers capable of violence also, but they did not think it prudent to meddle with us, although they did not spare everybody, not even all Europeans, for now and then we heard of cases of annoyance to people of other nations.

The British name and prestige were at that time a power for good, which would surely have been preserved and extended, and used in the interests of humanity, if our countrymen could have had any, even a little, idea of what it was worth; of how many poor and oppressed people it was the hope and sole protection; of the incalculable blessings which its diligent and faithful use might have brought, within the last twenty years, to the Christians and all others within the Turkish Empire.

But who was there to remind our nation that her influence and her wealth were a trust held for benefit of less favoured lands? Who was there among all the travellers who passed through the Holy Land, for their own pleasure, who turned aside, even for an hour, to inquire why it was that, with a very few rare exceptions, they enjoyed perfect safety from insult or injury as they traversed the length and breadth of the land? Or who paused in the midst of the enjoyments of their tour to ask what might be done for their fellow-creatures of various creeds—their fellow-Christians of ancient Churches? Who was there who ever asked about the reforms and liberties granted to his people by the Sultan? or who cared one jot whether they were justly carried out? Who ever spared five minutes to understand what our ambassador at Constantinople was doing for the peaceful solution of the Eastern Question, for the regeneration of Turkey, for the prevention of future strife and slaughter and extermination of human creatures by each other under the pretence of advancing true religion?

At that time we stood on vantage ground for the settlement of the Eastern Question. We abandoned it after the close of the Crimean War—selfishly ignorant and indifferent—and the heart sinks with fear that it may be too late to return, to take up the broken thread, to redeem wasted opportunities.

But one thing we may and ought to do—to be willing, not only to travel and amuse ourselves in Holy Lands; not merely to instruct ourselves—though on subjects of highest sacred interest—and then leaving the inhabitants of those lands unthought of, in their ignorance or misery, 'pass by on the other side,' content that they are no business of ours.

We ought to give a fair share of thought, interest, and time, to the *human beings* in the lands which interest us, and then we should not be slow in finding out what we may do for them, and how to do it.

One day in July, after my camp had been removed with the family to our own place near Jerusalem, the Pashà and Military Commandant visited the farm at Urtas, of which they had heard much, but which no Jerusalem Pashà had ever seen. His Excellency had expressed a wish to spend some hours there, and it seemed a fitting mode of paying him attention in return for his recent courtesies about the admission to the Sanctuary at Jerusalem. It was possible that the spectacle of a paradise of gardens and orchards, where only a few years ago all had been desolation, a flourishing village of natives where lately had been only ruins, and regular payment of a large sum of taxes to the Sultan's treasury from a place heretofore paying nothing (and legally exempt), might infuse useful ideas on the subject of redeeming waste lands, filling the Sultan's exchequer, and changing marauding natives into cultivators of the soil, and all this in connexion with Jewish industry.

The Pashà was accompanied by a large train of followers, including an escort of fifty irregular horse (Bashi Bozuk), and His Excellency was also attended by two professional jesters who came to perform for the day's amusement. One, a Turk, mimicked the characteristics of an old-fashioned solemn Turk; the other, a Syrian, those of a townsman of Bayroot, who was caricatured for his dialect and his vainglory, his excessive boasting of personal valour, and past achievements as against the Druzes, alternated with terror and trembling on hearing of their near approach for fighting. The two then made ugly faces at each other, knocked off each other's turbans, rolled on the ground, &c., &c.

The Turk next imitated a monkey eating nuts, scratched his head and then climbed up the pear tree, squatting among the branches and eating fruit; he threw down pieces of fruit-paring among the illustrious group below, on which the imaginary police had him brought down, after a ridiculous chase, to be punished for his offences. He was sentenced to have a tin pot placed on his head, at which the Pashà fired pistols charged with mere wadding. At the frightened start of the delinquent, the tin pot rolled on the ground as if it had been hit; the company, as in duty bound, were in fits of laughter, while the prisoner simulated terror, screams and entreaties for mercy.

The grave Arab peasantry, spectators of the scene, were confounded at such an exhibition.

This people are fond of wrestling, firing at a mark with guns, hurling weights, aiming with slings and with stones only. They are also full of humour and wit, but

there is never any levity in their demeanour. That is only to be found among the inhabitants of towns, and even then rarely among Moslems.

Meanwhile Hebron affairs were again threatening, and the rebel chief 'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer was reported to be within two hours of us at Bait Ummar. Twelve other Bashi Bozuk had been dispatched to scour the villages in search of certain Ta'amra Bedaween, namely, the giant Saf-ez-zeer (an outlaw even from his own tribe) with his little band of followers, who had lately been guilty of some more flagrant offences than usual.

After a time the horsemen returned, bringing with them five peasants, pretending that they were Ta'amra. This, however, would not do amongst us here in Urtas, who knew all the peasantry round as well as the Ta'amra. These men could not be passed off as the real culprits. It turned out that after the party had broken up, a few real Ta'amra were captured, but not the people required.

After inspection of the cultivation in the valley, and suitable entertainment at a meal served to the Pashà and his company, all returned homewards in the twilight, the Bashi Bozuk galloping about firing off their pistols, one man managing to shoot off some of his own fingers. I returned to my camp and arrived before my own family, who were even later in returning from a visit paid at the camp of the English Bishop.

On the third day after the entertainment, a large force of the Ta'amra descended upon Urtas, complaining of the wrongful seizure of their men and threatening summary vengeance if justice were not done by their being released.

Meshullam rode off to me. I sent back Mr. Rogers, our Vice-Consul of Caifa, who chanced to be with us, to escort him back and explain matters to the Ta'amra chiefs. On the way they met the Bashi Bozuk who had been sent once more to catch Saf-ez-zeer. They were returning with the report to the Pashà, that the culprit had escaped into the wilderness near the Dead Sea. Mr. Rogers went to Bethlehem and got sufficient proof that he was, on the contrary, feasting and lodging with certain Moslem Shaikhs there. A kawwâs was immediately dispatched with a letter to me conveying the tidings, who, arriving late in the night at our tents, aroused me from sleep to receive it and send back an answer.

Mr. Rogers arriving early in the morning, I went down with him and my people to the Seraglio with authentic information to the Pashà, and with advice that the two officers of Bashi Bozuk who had thus trifled with their superior should be at once deprived of command, and that the Bethlehem Shaikhs should be brought into Jerusalem to answer for their conduct, in thus openly abetting and harbouring an outlaw with intent to defeat the ends of justice.

Saf-ez-zeer had not only offended against the Turkish Government and laws, but he and his associates had uttered threats of mischief to the property and people—British subjects—in Urtas.

These steps were taken, but two days afterwards the officers were reinstated, with my consent (they could ill be spared from service at this time), and in consideration of a rebuke publicly administered and their promise of better behaviour for the future.

The Bethlehem Shaikh least implicated was also released from prison, but the other, Salim Shakhtoor, an old offender in various ways, was detained for another week.

His Excellency the Pashà then collected his troops in camp near Jerusalem, ready for departure to Hebron as soon as the necessary business with Sir Moses Montefiore, before described, should be over.

The Pashà's little army marched off to Hebron on July 27th, with the two brass field-pieces and with two four-inch mortars for shells; but before departure his Excellency invited all the European Consulates to send each a representative with him. This was readily granted, as it was imagined that he might be acting in conformity with directions from superiors, or have other sufficient grounds for making the request. The other Consulates sent their Dragomans, who were natives; but Mr. Vice-Consul Rogers being still in Jerusalem, the English Consulate was represented by him, at the particular desire of the Pashà. By August 5th orders had come from Constantinople from the Grand Vizier to take 'Abderrahhmân alive or dead.

Arriving at Hebron, his Excellency summoned to the camp the Shaikhs of the surrounding villages. Those of Idna, Samoa, and Taffuhh flatly refused to obey, and declared that they would only pay their taxes through 'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer, their local chief (and head of the present rising); the reply of the first of these places was given orally, the rest gave written answers. And here it must be explained that the formal test of fealty to

the Government lay in the payment or refusal to pay the taxes when summoned to do so by the Governor.

The Pashà thereupon proclaimed 'Abderrahhmân a rebel, and appointed his brother, Salâmeh, in his place as Nâzir (inspector, or supreme chief) of the district. This was done at the village of Beni Naim, where is the reputed sepulchre of 'the Prophet Lot.' His Excellency, attended by his guard of irregular horse, assembled the chiefs in the mosque, and harangued them to this effect.

'I am appointed by our Lord the Sultân, who is appointed by Divine authority, and, according to the religion of Islâm, I am here to act in favour of the poor and oppressed, and to enforce obedience according to the Moslem religion. He who disobeys my commands disobeys the Sultân, and he who disobeys and rebels against the Sultan is no longer a Moslem. 'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer, having proved himself a rebel, is disavowed by Government, and Salâmeh is appointed in his stead.' The chiefs here cried out, 'Allah yansoor es-Sultân!' God save the Sultân (rather 'give victory to the Sultân')!

The Pashà continued, addressing the new chief—

'Wilt thou, O Salâmeh! answer for the obedience of these people, and guarantee that they shall have no dealings with 'Abderrahhmân; but keep him out of Hebron and try to take him prisoner?'

On this Shaikh Salâmeh took the chiefs for a private talk, and then into the Mosque of Lot to swear their oath of allegiance according to their custom, and then he presented them to His Excellency as loyal subjects.

A reward of 25,000 piastres (near 250*l.*) was then

publicly offered by the Pashà for the capture of 'Abderrahhmân.

A guard of 100 infantry and the two brass field-pieces had been left in Hebron to hold the town. The Pashà then marched against Idna, a village north-west of Hebron, with the rest of the troops and with the two mortars. Idna was within sight of Dura, the home of 'Abderrahhmân himself. They arrived unexpectedly by night, but there they stayed encamped for several days doing nothing, which exposed the Sultan's troops to the ridicule of the revolted peasantry.

Never, excepting in Hebron, since the conquest of the country by the Egyptians, had there been actual rebellion against the Sultân's representative. The villages and clans had been up in arms against each other again and again, as this history has partly shown. It had even been necessary to put down disturbance by force; but, except, in the case of this very 'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer (against whom Kubrisli Pashà had some years before employed the Jerusalem infantry, and had taken Hebron itself), the insurgents had always professed loyalty to the Sultân and his Government, asserting that they were only in arms against some rivals, or to obtain redress of some grievance.

The present was a far more serious matter.

And there was a growing spirit of doubt as to the ultimate issue of the Crimean war abroad, highly dangerous to the safety of the Turkish Empire. The siege of Sebastopol had now been going on for many months. Last year it had been supposed that a few weeks at most would serve for the reduction of this fortress, but

we had reached the month of August and the siege operations were still going slowly on. Russian sympathisers in the country suggested that Sebastopol never would be taken. There was a feeling that people might do pretty much as they liked here in Palestine, for that the Sultân and his affairs were in too critical a condition nearer home for the Ottoman Government to be able to spare any attention for a distant province.

As to England and France, our German friends—both Austrian and Prussian—had plenty of time and opportunity for telling everybody that the days of French glory were over, and that England never did fight well except at sea. The sum of all this was that the Turkish Empire was drawing to a end, and that the general scramble was near at hand. But people were not wanting who were willing that the difficulties of the Allies should be increased by tumult and anarchy in Palestine. It was, therefore, of first importance that this beginning of revolt should be crushed without delay, before it had time to spread among the peasant clans and draw in the large tribes of wild Arabs south and east, who would as surely scent the mischief from afar as the vultures spy out a battle-field. As events unfolded themselves, it was found that the help of the wild tribes had already been engaged by 'Abderrahhmân, and that they were to strike for him when the right moment should arrive.

The delay in bringing the Turkish troops into action was incomprehensible at the time. It was afterwards discovered that the Pashà was still powerless to compel them to act, and that the delay was part of a plot, happily defeated by means of our Vice-Consul Mr. Rogers.

This delay all but gave the wild tribes time to appear in the rear of the Pashà and his little army.

In the village of Idna, before which the Pashà and his army were lying, was a petty tower or block-house, and when operations commenced the soldiers repeatedly directed their artillery against this tower. The Dragomans of the European Consuls, who had attended the Pashà to Hebron, were not all present. Those belonging to Austria and Prussia had remained in Hebron; but the French Dragoman, and Vice-Consul Rogers, were still with the Pashà watching the operations.

Mr. Rogers observed that from one of the mortars eighteen shells had been directed against the tower, but that the other was silent. A moment's examination brought about the discovery that this second piece was spiked. The tower being still uninjured notwithstanding the discharge of the eighteen shells, Mr. Rogers now suspected the cause, and got leave (civilian though he was) to point the available mortar. The Pashà then fired it himself; the shell fell right upon the tower, and the paltry defence was damaged. The soldiers in an instant, headed by the Vice-Consul, rushed forward with a white flag; a few shots were fired upon them, but the place immediately surrendered, and the effect of that surrender was the collapse of the whole insurrection.

Then arose a necessity for enquiring into the treachery in serving the artillery, and the conduct of the regulars who had merely stood still without firing a musket.

On the Pashà asking the Commandant (Hashem Bey—Bin Bashi) for explanations on the latter point, he an-

swered that the battalion had merely come from Jerusalem as a personal guard to His Excellency.

Why then did he take charge of the prisoners taken, and put them under guard of his sentinels?

Why were the mortars fired at all? He had clearly exceeded his duty in these particulars if he told truth.

Some time after the events, I learned that after the affair, and on the return from Idna to Hebron, it was discovered by Vice-Consul Rogers that the muskets of some of the infantry had not been loaded at all. The Pashà, suspecting this to be the case with all, on reaching the camp requested the Commandant to have the pieces discharged at a target, which would also serve as a *feu de joie* in the hearing of the surrounding villages. This was refused; but in the dark night the muskets were loaded and discharged in the air.

But this was not all, serious though it was. Five days afterwards (though suffering from illness), I went to Hebron where the Pashà and the troops now were, to see and hear for myself what was going on, having received in the daily reports, sent by my Vice-Consul, ample proof of how greatly the *morale* of the Pashà needed support in this emergency. On arrival, after demonstrations of welcome, the Pashà expressed his sense of the immense service done at a critical moment by our Vice-Consul, and then proceeded to give me details in confidence.

Among other things, he told me that in the interval between his arrival with the troops at Hebron and the march to Idna he had detected the Military Command-

ant to be in frequent correspondence with the rebels—'Abderrahhmân and his partisans. How critical the moment was at which Vice-Consul Rogers had helped him to fire the decisive shell, and bring victory to the Government, he explained in adding that, had the operations lasted but one hour longer (as he afterwards discovered), the 100 infantry with the two brass guns, which he had left holding Hebron, were to have been surrounded and captured by Arabs from the desert in concert with the adherents of 'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer in Hebron, with rebels from the other villages. Hebron, lying between the Turkish Pashà and Jerusalem, would then have had to be retaken by force of arms, to say nothing of the moral effect throughout the whole country of a detachment of regular infantry being made prisoners by the insurgent Shaikhs and their wild allies. The Pashà commented severely upon the conduct of the Austrian and Prussian Dragomans (natives) in having remained behind in Hebron, instead of being with him with the rest, at Idna, according to his request.

The French Cancellière was then present, and the protest of His Excellency was addressed to him as well as to myself. M. Botta had already left Jerusalem, being suddenly ordered off; but the French Cancellière, M. Lequeux, was conducting affairs *ad interim*, and was a very competent person.

The Pashà repeatedly stated that he did not wish to advance any blame against the Consuls themselves, but blamed the Dragomans who, he believed, had remained behind in Hebron by design in consequence of an understanding with 'Abderrahhmân. The Austrian

Consul thought it necessary to notice the affair by coming to Hebron, where, in presence of the Pashà and the other authorities, he publicly rebuked his Dragoman for failure in duty—'staying to smoke pipes in Hebron when he had been ordered to attend on His Excellency the Pashà.'

It may be that the Dragoman of the Prussian Consul, also a native Christian, but of a far less active disposition than the other, only stayed in Hebron for good-fellowship's sake with the other, and had not the wit to perceive what was going on. This was however unfortunate, for intrigue and treachery were abroad, and indiscreet Germans were doing their best to make it be believed that any mishap which the Turkish cause might sustain would give pleasure to themselves and their countrymen in Europe.

The Pashà further told me that on the day of the affair at Idna, a camel-load of bullets in a sack had been captured among the hills; and some said it had come from the Shaikh of Bait Jibreen—Muslehh el 'Azizi.

Muslehh was one of the Shaikhs who had been summoned by the Pashà among the rest, but he had neither appeared nor sent an answer.

On hearing the above—whether the story of Muslehh having sent the bullets might be believed or not (there were reasons for doubting that he had done so)—I proposed to the Pashà that he should dispatch some reliable Aga (officer) of the irregulars to his place at Bait Jibreen, to stay quartered there, sending a report every six hours to the camp, until Muslehh should obey. Shaikh Muslehh was also the Nâzir (Inspector) of a very important district contiguous to that of Hebron.

Kiamil Pashà mournfully replied, that there was not one man in the whole service whom he could employ on such an errand.

When I asked why he had not adopted the present measures two months before, when the Council of Consuls was held, and when the difficulties had not come to such a head as now in the month of August, he said—'You did not understand my troubles—having at least half my Council bribed against me, thwarted by some of the Consuls, and spies everywhere.'

The Turkish resident Inspector of the Quarantine establishment at Hebron was a decided partizan of 'Abderrahhmân, and within the last few days he had refused a European traveller a charge or two of gunpowder for his pistols, because he said he could not be sure they would not be used against 'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer; a German doctor also took the same side; while a clever Oriental in the Austrian service was reported to have held written correspondence with the insurgents even while in the Pashà's camp—two letters having been brought him from 'Abderrahhmân three days before the Idna affair—and the stupid messenger, an officer of the regulars, brought them direct into the Pashà's tent, supposing that the person to whom they were addressed would be found there.

However, the plots were defeated by the capture of Idna, and the return of the Pashà and his troops to Hebron earlier than was expected.

It was a striking instance of the effect produced by the taking of Idna upon the minds of the peasantry in a wide district around us, that on the very day when the

tidings reached us at Jerusalem, while I was walking into town from my tents on the Tâlibiyeh, I was met in an open field by my former acquaintance, Mansoor Debsi (one of the heroes of Bait Atab), and another, who had come all the way from Bait Nateef; they fell at my feet which they endeavoured to kiss in their terror, deprecating chastisement, which they expected would now fall upon them from the royal troops, for their implication in the dissensions with Othmân el Lahhâm (last winter before the arrival of the present Pashà in Palestine); and the next day two other Chiefs, from a greater distance, approached for the same object. They were so apprehensive of peril to themselves that they would not venture even to my office within the City walls, but must needs appeal for my intercession in the open fields.

The truth was, that they dreaded a repetition of the acts of the Kubrusli Pashà in 1846, after he had subdued 'Abderrahhmân of Hebron.

The fear of these people proved to be groundless: no notice was taken of them, they and their districts having remained quiet during these affairs.

It was, however, time for the Pashà to deal decisively with Shaikh Muslehh (one of the Chiefs who had been exiled in 1846), and he requested Mr. Rogers to ride over to Bait Jibreen and confer with the Chief, which he did with one kawwâs of mine, declining any guard of soldiers, and advised him to obey the lawful summons of Government, and go to the Pashà.

The latter gave as his reason for past hesitation that he knew the camp, and even all the district leading thereto, to be filled with enemies to him. But, trusting

to the mere word of an English official that no treachery was intended by Government, Muslehh did go to Hebron, my kawwâs going with him as protection against treachery by the way from any of the village Chiefs. But he was still so distrustful of what might happen to him, that on entering the boundary of the camp, he covered his head with a Kefiyeh, expecting every moment to be fired upon by hostile Shaikhs. (And yet Shaikh Muslehh was no coward, and had led his people in many a battle.) He was well received, and transacted business, but was afraid to venture even to the Mosque for Prayers; and was sent back by the Pashà under escort of twenty Bashi Bozuks, while he himself was disguised as a Bedawi Arab; and his people offered the sacrifice of a lamb as a thanksgiving for his safe return.

He was soon followed to his village by the Pashà to whom he paid up his taxes, and so all difficulties were terminated between them, to the joy and triumph of the Government.

All the other villages had already submitted, and promised to make up their arrears.

Within a week from the fall of Idna the Pashà commenced a tour through the late disaffected places, and made orations to the people. At Yuttah (which seems to a passing traveller but a small poor place), the peasants paid down 15,000 piastres (above 120*l.*) of arrears, and assisted the soldiers in demolishing their own little forts and barricades.

Yet after the first flush of change in affairs the actual money came in but slowly, as the half-savage villagers came to understand the bland manners and gentle deal-

ings of Kiamil Pashà. Sharper treatment would have been more effectual.

Two brothers of 'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer were apprehended and imprisoned for endeavouring to cheat the Government in the amount of tribute in wheat produce for delivery of which they had been assessed in the revenue books. It must be remembered that this District is extremely productive, and all the Chiefs are rich in produce, cattle, and in money. Abderrahhmân himself fled to the wild Arabs beyond the Dead Sea.

During my visit of two days to Hebron I had opportunities of seeing, as I passed by, the prisoners in their chains in the dungeon of the Lazaretto. They were a wild, burly, brutal set. Among them was a negro of gigantic stature. Their screams for pardon every time the Pashà passed in sight were frightful; and yet confinement was the only punishment inflicted; their lives were in no danger. But what they dreaded, and what all the mountaineers in Palestine dread above all, was their removal from their native district; even though they be carried no farther than the fortress of Acre, to serve there as prisoners on the works, for a longer or shorter period. There was a good display of Jereed, or javelin, Tournament before the Pashà in camp that evening in which the valuable horse and arms taken from one of the Hebron Chiefs, which had been sold by auction, were brought into play by their new owner.

When paying my farewell visit at the Pashà's pavilion, a Council was held at which were present, His Excellency, two of the principal Effendis from the Jerusalem Council, the Mufti (Law officer) from Jerusalem,

and others, including the Dragoman of the French Consulate.

I observed a young daughter of the notable prisoner—Ibrahim, brother of 'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer—who had presented a petition on her father's behalf, listening to all the proceedings, till someone suggested the prudence of having her removed. There was also a mad Bedawi woman present. She was allowed to remain, as the Moslems regard lunatics or semi-lunatics with particular respect; there was believed to be no danger of her acting as a spy upon the proceedings which were now being carried on in Turkish.

Still I could not but remember the instance of David at Gath (not many miles distant) as recorded in 1 Sam. xxi. 14.

I reported to my superiors, including the Consul-General in Bayroot, the conduct of the Commandant on the day of Idna and the general charges advanced against him, expecting that notice of these would be taken by His Excellency the Musheer (Governor-General), and His Excellency the Seriasker (Commander-in-Chief) in Damascus, and was duly informed that a Turkish Colonel would be despatched to make the necessary investigations, and that I was to put myself into communication with him. On his arrival it was discovered that the Colonel had no such commission as had been expected, for he told me that he had only been sent to enquire whether or not the previous state of the country had been such as to justify the military measures that had been adopted, and stranger still, that Kiamil Pashà had made no report from himself on the conduct of the Commandant. This

he explained, by saying that his design was to tell it privately to the Commissioner, so that affairs might be inquired into without public scandal; this, notwithstanding the indignant accusations voluntarily made to me—and his determination to bring the offender to martial law.

There is always something underhand in the Turkish arts of ruling. To plain people it is incomprehensible how the system of governing '*dostâneh*' (amicably), or '*akilâneh* (prudently), can have any permanent effect. It would not succeed long with an European population; but in the slavish East it does keep the machine going without producing serious detriment.

Ten days later (August 21) I paid a second visit to the Pashà's Camp, having gone to Hebron to join Sir Moses Montefiore there, as described in my last chapter.

The 22nd was the Great Moslem Festival of Korban Bairam, and the Pashà rode in official state, at an early hour, to the Mosque at the Machpelah Hharam.

All the military were arrayed in best uniform, saluting the officers and each other with the Turkish formula, 'Chôk chôk yillerida' ('for many, many years').

Flags were flying at the Bashi Bozuk posts and at the Quarantine; cannon were fired at prayer hours, and the band played at intervals. Village Shaikhs paraded among the soldiers and others, in new garments (walking awkwardly in them as unused to them); those who could afford it had slaves carrying their pipes after them in the manner of City Effendis; they too embraced each other on meeting, and in word at least, wished 'for many, many years,' or its Arabic equivalent. One of the Bashi Bozuk

officers appeared in a new uniform of blue and gold. The Commandant twice called upon me, but, remembering Idna, I did not return the visit.

At midday there was a full review of the Infantry.

During the day parties of Moslem women from Hebron assembled, as on other holiday occasions, about the tombs of the adjoining cemetery. (The Pashà and the camp were on the open ground south of Hebron, at the foot of the hills on that side.)

One considerable company of peasant women gathered round the graves of those recently killed in fight; these after a long time spent in the usual wailing, arose and worked themselves up into a frenzy of singing, howling, and dancing—this exhibition lasted several hours. It is not in itself uncommon at the funerals of that class of people. The townsfolk all agreed that it is a disgraceful remnant of old heathen ceremonies, contrary to the spirit of the Mohammedan religion. The Pashà, very properly, declined to interfere.

Two cows were sacrificed before the state Pavilion, instead of the sheep usually slain at this festival.

Giving and returning visits formed the staple occupation of the day. Servants and kawwâsses of course came expecting presents. Among the functionaries who came to me on such errand were seven of the sôteries, or jesters and drummers, attached to the Bashi Bozuk corps, some wearing fox tails attached to their leathern caps, and their leader had a cap of office decorated with cowry shells and little looking-glasses, besides the fox tail behind.

In the afternoon there was a tournament of Jereed

practice among the Bashi Bozuk horsemen, in front of the Pavilion. It was the best I had ever seen.

The Prussian Consul came on a formal visit to His Excellency from his own encampment, under the great Oak of Sibta, which is popularly named Abraham's Oak, and also visited the Doctor of Quarantine, at whose lodging the Pashà returned the official visit of the Consul. Sir Moses Montefiore also paid his visit to the Pashà, in honour of the festival.

The scene was very pretty as day declined. The whole camp bore an aspect of cleanliness and regularity, the lines of green or white tents in good order. Strange was the night scene from the rising ground above of the twinkling lights, sometimes moving, with the mingling of subdued voices; and as the hours passed on there was the cry of the Sentinel's 'Alerto.'

Next day I was at home in my own camp at the Tâlibiyeh near Jerusalem, but from thence could still hear the morning and evening signal guns of the camp so long as it remained at Hebron.

The Bait Nateef people came afterwards to express their gratitude, when they felt certain of the Pashà and troops not intending to pass through their district.

This Hebron expedition, with the taking of Idna and the fact that 'Abderrahhmân was a fugitive far away in the desert, raised the reputation of Kiamil Pashà, and preserved the peace of the country for a considerable time afterwards.

There can be no doubt that this Southern insurrection might have been turned to considerable account by any hostile European parties, had such been at hand.

And those residents in the country, who only bore ill will to Turkish rule, wishing the sick man to die early, magnified in their own estimation, and in their reports, the importance of this local disturbance while it lasted, and were discomfited in their hopes when a single howitzer-shell brought the mischief to a close.

There was no general insurrection in Palestine for that year.

This was great gain; and meanwhile Sebastopol might fall and peace might be restored. So we were sanguine enough to believe, although day by day, week by week of the summer passed away, and still Sebastopol remained untaken; and the predictions that it never would be taken grew louder and more confident.

Not a German, or anybody who believed in German sagacity, doubted the final defeat and discomfiture of England and France; the utter destruction of Turkey; the triumph of Russia.

The arrival of each mail brought only news of hope still deferred, of immense efforts, of waste of precious lives, of huge expenditure in money and material; and as months went by the satisfaction and confidence increased with which we were daily told that we must not expect any better tidings—that our defeat was becoming more and more imminent. The German Consuls had all along predicted the futility of the great siege, particularly our Austrian friend Pizzamano, who, as being a military man, must certainly 'know all about it.' And we had to keep silence, and wait.

No sooner were the military returned and we hoped to settle down in peace, than a flood of rumours and

direct accusations of bribery and extortion poured into the Consulates against Kiamil Pashà.

The Colonel Commissioner (also a Turk), personally assured me of their truth, which seemed to me reason for believing that he himself had been gained over by the Commandant, the Bin-Bashi Hâshem.

Then a peasant Shaikh, unknown to me, came to assure me that he had himself given 80,000 piastres (above 700*l.*) into the Pashà's own hands. Was this the payment of his own arrear of dues to the Treasury? Another tale was brought by a townsman, of the French Dragoman placing a bag of money under the Pashà's pillow at night. But this seemed a very improbable story, the method of bribing partaking of Oriental rather than of European manners. Why the French Dragoman should bribe at this time, or for what end, was not explained. While therefore not doubting that Pashàs are bribed frequently, I considered that these tales bore every appearance of coming from parties of interested motives, hostile to the accused---especially as they came all in a rush and as suddenly died away.

One thing however is certain, that we heard no more mention of the misconduct of the Commandant at Idna; it dropped into oblivion. After a decent interval, not appearing an abrupt one, he left us in the middle of September for another post.

And 'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer was not taken either alive or dead.

I may as well mention here the recruiting of men to serve in the Crimea in our Land Transport Corps.

Up to this time the Turks had never succeeded in

any attempts at conscription among the natives. Military service was of course restricted entirely to the Moslems, who, according to the theory of the religion of the Korân, are alone competent to fight for the true faith, and are alone worthy to have the honour of being entrusted with the privilege of bearing and of using arms.

The peasantry of Syria had too strong an attachment to their own mountain homes to be willing to enter the Turkish army, and hitherto the Sultan had judged it best to resort very little to forced conscription. It was the conscription which had, above all, exasperated the peasantry against the Egyptian rule under Mehemet Ali and Ibrahim Pashà, and which had contributed to the success of the measures taken for the expulsion of the Egyptians and the restoration of the country to the Turks. To a Syrian peasant the being taken to serve in the army was regarded as a misfortune as great as death itself; and yet they were warlike enough in their own country, and only too fond of fighting, but always within the limits of their own district and clan.

Now, however, an experiment was made at voluntary enlistment for quasi-military service in the Crimea—though not under Turkish officers. In September a commission was sent to me to raise recruits for the Land Transport Corps, on service in the Crimea, in English pay.

So two flags were hastily manufactured from materials obtained in the Bazaar—the Union Jack, and the Ottoman red flag with its white Crescent and Star—and these were displayed on two poles one on each side of the Consulate office where business was transacted, and where

a person was delegated to superintend the enlistment. A public crier was sent about the streets inviting recruits; another was despatched to the surrounding villages. Four men offered themselves the first day, and Shaikh Saeed from Naby Moosa, the reputed Tomb of the Prophet Moses, offered to go himself to Nabloos with drums and flags for the same object, and was accordingly furnished by the Pashà with a letter to the Governor there, for his assistance.

That night fifty men of the Moghrabi, or African quarter of Jerusalem, came to the house of my Jewish Dragoman offering themselves for service, but they did not come to the Consulate next day for enrolment as promised. Some check to their zeal had meanwhile intervened. It was suspected that these and others drew back on finding that the Corps was not to be composed exclusively of Moslems; for we had been directed to enlist all sorts indiscriminately, and to forward them to Jaffa, the seaport, there to be medically examined, and thence to be shipped off as opportunity served for embarking.

Those whom we collected formed a strange medley: a few Jews, one Maronite, one Armenian from Persia, an Arab Protestant, a native Moslem peasant from Bethany—but a Greek monk I at once refused. A few natives went from Nabloos (Shechem) and from Ramlah, but not every man passed the medical inspection at Jaffa.

A trifle of bounty-money was furnished to each, for enabling them to wind up their family affairs, until we found that two of the men deserted on the road down. They were, however, pursued and captured.

The recruiting did not succeed well among us, and it was discontinued after a few weeks.

Our mountain peasantry could not be induced to leave home and go to foreign lands, and were too deeply imbued with ancient customs, and too much attached to the native dress, to be willing to submit to a military uniform, even in consideration of regular and honest pay, of English money given by English paymasters; for this new Corps—so novel an experiment in many respects—was not only to be composed of recruits from all religions, but was to be officered by Englishmen.

The principal objection to enlistment arose from the nature of the service required from the recruits. It had not the dignity of being out and out military; the fighting character was wanting—the Town Moslems loathed the idea of being enlisted to serve as 'muleteers,' or even as police over muleteers. I had no means of correctly informing them as to the full nature of the duties that would be required of them. All that I knew was, that an English military officer had landed as Commissioner in Jaffa, and wrote me a letter to the effect that he was empowered to call upon Consuls to assist him in raising recruits for the Land Transport Corps, under English officers, and with reasonably good pay regularly given.

The English Consulate was the only one called on to assist the Allies in this recruiting. From among the English subjects in Jerusalem were supplied for service in the Crimea, though not in this Corps, two sons of Meshullam, the farmer at Urtas—one of whom was engaged as general medical practitioner—the other, on the staff of Oriental interpreters, but his ardent temperament

by no means allowed him to serve only in a civil capacity. An eminent surgeon, a Scotchman, who had resided in Jerusalem, attached to the London Society's Hospital for Jews, also repaired to the seat of war, as well as a clergyman who had lived among us for a while, and who now volunteered for duty in the Crimea as army chaplain.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CONDITION OF THE JEWS IN JERUSALEM IN 1855.

Employment of Jews and Jewesses—Industrial Plantation—Miss Cooper's School—Grievous distress—Wretched abodes—Visit of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore to the Holy Land—Their entrance to the Temple Sanctuary on Moriah—Purchase of land for charitable Institutions—Visit to Hebron.

THE condition of the Jerusalem Jews during 1855 was in some respects better than it had been during the previous year. Prices were still very high, and the Synagogue Funds were still without remittances from the Russian and Polish Jews, or from those in Turkey who were suffering from the pressure caused by the war. But though the distress was still very great and constant, various efforts were being made to give relief. The attempt which we had made to assist the poor to help themselves by giving them work to do, was still carried on as far as funds would permit, but the remittances from England fell off as soon as people supposed that the famine was at an end, and that the wealthy Jews of Europe—the Rothschilds and the Montefiores—were raising funds 'for the support of all the Jews in Palestine,' for this was gravely believed to be the case.

What could be done, however, with the sums contributed was done, and the numbers of Jews employed on the Industrial Plantation, near Jerusalem, varied as the funds fluctuated, from fifty-six men and boys down to

five or more. Systematic agricultural training was of course impossible under such conditions, but the idea of labouring for daily food was steadily encouraged. Some building, some planting were accomplished; a little wine was made, a little oil refined. Brooms were manufactured out of a straw grown for the purpose, and small crops of corn, lentils, and fruit were grown. Thus, a few were kept from starvation; and valuable experience and knowledge of land, crops, and seasons was acquired, in the hope that some day funds might be forthcoming to enable us to turn this knowledge to account, and to give work to the eager crowd that daily beset our doors.

The Jewesses' School, carried on by Miss Cooper, meanwhile gave employment in knitting, sewing, and spinning to women and girls, whose numbers varied from eighty to sixty, according to the state of the funds. The little Ladies' Visiting Society continued to work among the destitute poor in the Jewish quarter, giving small quanties of food and clothing to those who were too feeble to be able to work at all. These institutions were distinct from the Missionary establishments, and were carried on by voluntary effort. Besides these, there were in operation the institutions founded the year before by M. Albert Cohn on behalf of the Rothschild family. Among these were the hospital, the lying-in charity, and the schools for women and girls.

But while by means of these various efforts a few hundred cases of most urgent distress were reached, there remained a vast amount of human misery unrelieved in the Jewish Quarter, where thousands of people, who would thankfully have worked, were gradually dying of starva-

tion. The extent and depth of this misery only became known by degrees to those amongst us who were able to do a little house to house visiting.

The following extracts from records kept at the time will give some idea of the scenes visited—scenes, be it remembered, of daily occurrence.

The evil was too deep-seated, too great, to be removable by the expenditure of a few thousand pounds in charitable assistance. The object in recounting these things is not to move the feelings by unusual cases of extreme suffering, but to show what was the common condition of the Jews in Jerusalem.[1]

In one small room were living a father and four children, the only furniture being half an old charcoal-burner. Children were gathered round a heap of stones, this was the only table. Having lost their mother, the children played in the streets while the father tried to work for their bread. Another room, round the side of which was a stone raised bench. Here lived eight women and many children; the stone bench served for their bedstead; there was no window, only a door. . . . The Synagogue Fund paid the rent of this place as a charity. In the same court lived thirty families. It was near the noisome slaughtering-place where all the meat for the city was killed. [Sir M. Montefiore at last succeeded, as we shall relate farther on, in having this evil removed.]

The Jews cannot afford to repair their dwellings; the Moslem landlords will not do so. The rents were very high, and rising rapidly; the Jewish quarter was densely crowded. The poor-house belonging to the Spanish community was also

[1] How gladly one would say, if truth allowed, that there is no longer any serious amount of distress, owing to enforced idleness among the Jews of Jerusalem. Physicians who visit among them and those who know them best are still obliged to speak of the great majority of this people as in a state of semi-starvation and extreme want. The remedy, employment, has not yet been applied as it ought to be applied.

near the slaughtering-place. It was a house of four rooms and two closets. In one room lived eleven souls. A poor woman was found in a kind of cupboard, or alcove, in the wall, boarded partly in; this place measured about six feet by four, and was exposed to all weathers. A poor insane woman, young, who could read and write, was found in a place not fit to be called a room. She had no Synagogue allowance; no provision whatever. Another poor woman lived in a room without a window, which received no air but through the door, and as this was under a dark archway, the dwelling was dark by day and by night. A poor man, who found work at the Industrial Plantation, but could not earn enough to support his children, was seen to come home at night with his lap full of melon and vegetable parings, which he had picked up in the bazaars, for their supper. An old man, learned and highly respectable, was found lodged in an open place, where a kind neighbour allowed him to sleep among piles of fire-wood.

One of the poor Jewesses, who earned a few pence at Miss Cooper's school, having no means of washing her well-mended and sadly worn clothes, went to the public bath, where she washed and attempted to dry them; but some of the poor tatters fell to pieces and could not be put together again. Her earnings barely sufficed to buy her food.

These are a few facts, and a fair specimen of the condition in which the mass of the poor Jews in Jerusalem existed. The accounts of the famine and extremest distress among them in 1854 had been made widely known, and a large sum of money was subscribed in England and elsewhere by both Jews and Christians, for their relief.

Sir Moses Montefiore and other men of influence were appointed dispensers and trustees of this Fund. A portion was sent at once to Jerusalem for immediate relief. But it was determined to expend the greater portion in

permanent institutions, by which it was hoped that the condition of some of the people might be effectually relieved.

What wonder that there was excitement among the Jews when they heard that Sir Moses Montefiore was on his way out to administer relief among all this distress. The people did not understand the precise object of his mission. The Rabbis could not be expected to share in the enlightened views which preferred solid advantages for the future to mere temporary relief.

It was then, and still is, most difficult for the pious and fanatical among the people to understand the views of their enlightened brethren in Europe, and the reasons which would lead them to encourage useful industries whereby people may live, even though some of the hours devoted to prayer and religious study should be thereby curtailed.

Many, indeed, of the wealthy Jews in Europe would rather check than encourage the return of their brethren to Jerusalem, so long as there is no plan arranged by which they may earn their own bread. But how could a zealous Rabbinist be made to understand this feeling? To him it would seem the very height of impiety to discourage for any reason whatever the zeal which prompts an Israelite to make his way back to the land of his Fathers, that he may spend his remaining days there in devotion, in fasting, in study of sacred books, in intercession for all Israel, and then lay his bones in the ground hallowed by all that is most venerable in his faith.

Sir Moses Montefiore, himself a devout and earnest

believer in the future destiny of his nation, could make full allowance for the feeling described above. Yet his repeated visits to Palestine had convinced him that there was but one way of effectually benefiting the Jews, namely, by providing education for all, and work for the thousands in need of it, and who would most thankfully accept relief in this best of all forms. Agricultural plans had for many years occupied the attention of Sir Moses. He had on former visits collected much valuable information, but his measures were on those occasions chiefly for the relief of distress by distribution of money in charity.

After an absence of six years, Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore now re-visited Jerusalem (July, 1855), with plans for objects more permanent than the distribution of temporary alms. They were accompanied by several friends.

All the Jews who could ride or walk set forth to receive the travellers as they drew near to Jerusalem. On arriving at the spot from which the Holy City first appears from the North—the party halted for brief prayer—undisturbed by the escort of horsemen, who had been sent out by the Turkish authorities, and who were careering around at Jereed play, and were firing off their guns and pistols.

The tents were pitched for residence outside the city at the Terebinth tree on the corner of the Maidân nearest the walls, and on the same spot occupied by Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore in their visit of 1849.

The Pashà at the same time happened to be encamped with a military force for an expedition, at the

lower Terebinth tree on the corner of the Mamilla cemetery, therefore in the vicinity, and the whole scene was most animated.

A guard of honour, composed of police and of kawwâsses, was furnished to Sir Moses by both the Pashà and the British Consulate, and this was absolutely necessary for regulating the crowds of Jewish petitioners and of visitors of all kinds—for Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore were well known in the country—and people of all classes went to pay their respects.

We had already learned from the British Embassy that Sir Moses would be the bearer of certain official documents. These he now forwarded to me. They were a Firmân for the building of the ancient Ashkenaz Synagogue, called the 'Khorbah,' and a Vizerial letter, enjoining that aid should be afforded him by the Pashà in carrying out his plans for the benevolent projects which he designed to undertake.

On the official presentation of Sir Moses with his documents to the Pashà, a council of the City Effendis was necessary, and had been summoned for hearing the Sultan's Firmân read. These worthies delayed their appearance, and we were told that they were at prayers. When they came, and after formal compliments, the Firmân was read out by the Official Secretary. The Pashà set the example (which the rest seemed inclined to have omitted) of standing, as usual while a Sultan's Firmân was being read; and of making a salutation of respect at its close. His Excellency the Pashà was not wanting in any attention; and due ceremonial, with abundance of complimentary speeches, followed the reading.

Thence we went to the Barracks to view the Hharâm from the roof, and to pay a visit of ceremony to the Commandant in return for the attentions he had proffered. On leaving the barracks a guard of honour was turned out who presented arms. Sir Moses Montefiore was known to possess the Nishan of the Order of Mejeedieh, conferred by the Sultan, and possibly this influenced the Commandant in treating his guest with all distinction. He not only conducted us to the entrance, but walked before us along the street as far as the arch of 'Ecce Homo,' under which the sedan chair was waiting.

It was my post day for England and I went to my office, while Sir Moses visited the 'Wailing Place,' designated by the Jews 'the Western Wall'[1] (of the Temple enclosure). During the day our visitor repeatedly expressed his pleasure at coming as a loyal British subject amongst his people the Jews, and the other inhabitants of the Holy City, now at this present time.

The next day was the solemn Jewish fast, known by the name 'Tisha' b'Ab,' in commemoration of the two great destructions of the Holy Temple—first by Nebuchadnezzar, and next by Titus Cæsar. This anniversary had also occurred during the former visit paid by Sir Moses in 1849.

Of course no business could be transacted on such a day, which was passed in retirement and in the religious services of this solemn occasion.

And here let me remark on the intense nationality (as well as on the close bond of religious union) which

[1] כותל המערבי

pervades the Jewish people everywhere, and is visibly manifested not only in keeping up these national, though not Biblical (Divinely ordained) observances, but also in the perpetuation of their holy language.

It was with no slight interest that on one of my visits to the Montefiore tents, I observed a deputation of the Perushim Jews come up, and having to be presented by Dr. Lœwe, one of the Rabbis enquired of the Doctor, 'Are we to speak in a language of the Gentiles?'[1] to which he replied, 'No, but in our own language.' This was done, and he interpreted. Thus, I had one more of the many opportunities of observing in Jerusalem and throughout Palestine how much Hebrew is employed as a living language in conversation among themselves, in synagogues, in cities, in my office in Jerusalem when Jews met Jews from distant lands—from India, from California, or elsewhere; even in the open fields and on the road side by Jews who labour as farmers (of these there are still a few in Galilee).

On the 26th of July Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore were admitted into the Temple Sanctuary by the Pashà. There was a very striking difference between this visit and those of the Royal parties preceding. The black Africans were not this time confined under the bayonets of Turkish infantry. An escort of armed soldiers was, indeed, marched on either side of the party of visitors for their protection, and these soldiers kept at a distance any who might have molested us; but the Moslems were not excluded from their habitual walks and prayers in

[1] Qu. הנדבר בלשון הגוים
Ans. לוא כי אם בלשוניגו

the Courts of the Sanctuary during our visit. The hour appointed by the Pashà was in the early morning.

The party consisted only of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore with their friends and attendants; and with myself my wife, and our Vice-Consul for Caifa, Mr. Rogers, and his sister Miss Rogers; also two Jewish interpreters, one attached to my Consulate, the other, the official interpreter of the Chief Rabbi, both present out of respect for Sir Moses Montefiore. The Pashà and the Commandant of the troops personally conducted the visitors, and the Hereditary Guardian of the Mosque, Shaikh Mohammed Danef, was also in attendance with his sons.

The exquisite green of the sward as it had been when we saw the place in April was gone, but the effect of the whole was perhaps quite as lovely this time, under the lights and shades of early morning. And now we were at leisure to look round and fully enjoy what had last time been only glanced at in the excitement of a first and anxious visit.

We once more beheld the majestic Rock, visited the Cave, noticed all the glorious features of this unrivalled site for the Temple of God,—and then passed on (between the Cypresses and the Basin where water from Solomon's Pools was welling up) to the Aksa Mosque, where the Pashà called upon a sallow-faced Moslem, a Shereef, moreover, wearing a green turban, to draw water, and he drew it, cold and clear from the deep well at the entrance of the Aksa, for Sir Moses Montefiore and his party to drink. This well is called the well of Moses, and is highly valued.

We were also conducted into places not seen before,

as the subterranean Passage under the Aksa leading to the Double Gateway, with its monolith column and palm-branch Capital, and to the Golden Gate.

Finally, the Pashà caused carpets to be spread on the great Platform under the small 'Dome of the Chain' (also called 'the Judgment Seat of David'), east of the Dome of the Rock, for the party to sit and look around upon Olivet and Zion, and rest while conversing on the intensely interesting associations and reminiscences of the place. Most of these bore upon the Temple and the Temple Services. Allusion was also made to the Psalms of David referring to this subject.

On leaving, and when thanking the Pashà for his courtesy and real consideration shown in all the arrangements, he recommended that a large proportion of the presents about to be made to the people connected with the Sanctuary, should be allotted to the black Africans; and it was very easy to understand that such a mode of treatment would produce a better effect among them than the course which had been necessary, on the late Royal visit, of imprisonment under Turkish troops with fixed bayonets.

Nothing could well be more remarkable than the absolute contrast between the circumstances attending this visit and our first, made not quite four months before. The absence of outward excitement and hurry, the ease and leisure were wonderful, and the complete acquiescence of the Moslems in the Decrees of Destiny. It seemed almost doubtful if any of the black men, or of the Moslems to be seen in the precincts, would have molested us had there been any opportunity for their getting near us.

Resignation—the cardinal principle of Islâm—was never more strikingly manifested.

This time, strange to say, the adverse comments on the event so fraught with interest to all of us, came from the Rabbinical Jews resident in Jerusalem. They hold, as has already been mentioned, very strong views as to the danger of dishonouring the Holy Law by inadvertence in walking over the place where it is hidden away; and also as to the unlawfulness of entering the Sanctuary before it has been ceremoniously cleansed from pollution by the Gentiles, and some of them expressed their disapproval in unmeasured terms on hearing what had occurred.

For our own part we could not for a moment doubt that Sir Moses had acted wisely, and in the true interests of his people, here and elsewhere, in accepting the very high honour which the Turkish Governor had thus put upon Sir Moses Montefiore as the respected representative and public benefactor of his nation, the Jews. It was necessary to go back a very long way into the ages of past history to find a case where an Israelite had made public and state entry within the temple precincts.

And the Israelite honoured in this remarkable way by the extreme compliment, only lately for the first time offered to Royalty, was a British subject who had come to the Land of his fathers for the purpose of aiding and raising the estate of his suffering brethren!

There now remained the real business in hand for which Sir Moses had come. The building of the Synagogue was a straightforward task, but land had to be purchased for carrying out the other designs. The chief

of these was the erection of a range of dwellings for necessitous Jews, seeing that the Jewish Quarter was seriously overcrowded in Jerusalem; to this was to be joined a Jewish hospital, and a dispensary for relief of all applicants whatsoever. Sir Moses was also desirous of founding some other institutions for universal benefit, such as a windmill, or perhaps to repair the high road to Jaffa, a very great desideratum, and one for which proposals had been made by some of us many years before. As to this latter, he was informed that the Austrian Consul had it in view to have the work done in connection with the Austrian Lloyds Company, and that plans were already drawn out for the same. He therefore relinquished the road, and adopted the plan for the windmill.[1]

A wealthy Israelite, recently deceased in America, had left a considerable sum of money to Sir Moses and another friend, who was of the party, for the furtherance of these schemes of benevolence. Dr. Lœwe and I rode about the Moghrabi and other quarters of the city in search of a suitable site for the hospital and for schools, and particularly examined that part of the City inside and near the 'Zion' or 'Nebi Daood' Gate, but could find no site suitable, which would not involve enormous trouble and expense. It was interesting to see, as we returned, the meeting between Dr. Lœwe and the Rev. Mr. Nicolayson, whom the Doctor greeted as an acquaintance in Jerusalem of seventeen years previous, when he was the only European resident there.

[1] It is scarcely necessary to add that the plans here mentioned were not carried out, and that a thoroughly good road is still a desideratum in 1878. —EDITOR.

What a change had passed over Jerusalem in those seventeen years!

Besides the plans above mentioned, Sir Moses was desirous of promoting his long cherished wish to give agricultural employment to at least some of his nation in Galilee; and he also wished to induce the Pashà of Jerusalem to remove from the Jewish Quarter the ancient and offensive slaughtering-place for the whole city—which was highly injurious to human health, having existed there and accumulated its blood and offal ever since the conquest by Caliph Omar. He did make the request and was successful, for after some time this noisome evil was removed without the walls of the City.

Meanwhile, an ungrateful return for all his past and present beneficence was made by some of the Ashkenaz Jews, among whom are found some of the most extremely fanatical and bigoted of the people. The Rabbinist coteries had been at all times afraid of encouraging schemes of public benefit (beyond those for mere almsgiving), under the supposition, not entirely baseless, that such arrangements would in time render needless and check the flow of foreign money contributions, of which a small faction were the dispensers, and the chief gainers thereby.

The religious fanatics were hostile to his plans, and possibly they were the tools of the former. Of these were such as raved at the impiety of an Israelite wearing no beard or side-locks (*peahs*). These also complained of the entry into the Temple area while it was yet in a state of Gentile pollution. When the difference was pointed out to them between repairing thither, as had

been done in this case, from historical interest, and going for purposes of Divine worship, they changed the argument to the high probability that the 'Ark of the Covenant' (with the pot of manna and the stone tables of the Law) lies buried there beneath the pavement, and that, therefore, for a Jew to walk there would be to trample the Law under foot ('which God forbid!').

To this, other Rabbis rejoined that, supposing it to be true that the Ark with the tables of the Law are concealed there (which the Jews very generally believe, in conformity with an ancient tradition), it cannot be ascertained how deep they are buried below; and a Talmud law was quoted, to the effect that a man is not responsible for what may be so many cubits—(I forget how many)—beneath the surface of the ground.

Nevertheless the bigots did manage to stir up ungrateful zealots, some of whom even went the length of pronouncing excommunication upon the good man in, I believe, three of their synagogues. It is very likely that the noble object of their folly was not aware of their actions—probably no one told him: I knew of it from actual witnesses—and hope that the offenders have before now repented of their evil deeds.

Among other designs of Sir Moses Montefiore was one for a girls' school within the city, for instruction in reading, writing, and needlework; this of itself was a bold innovation upon Oriental Jewish principles and customs; but it took root to some extent, and some years afterwards I had the pleasure of witnessing the progress made in that institution.

But the principal work was the purchasing of the land outside the city on which to erect the almshouses, dispensary, and windmill. For this object Sir Moses Montefiore obtained a piece of land adjoining the high road going from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, but still opposite the City Walls (on the West), and close to the Pool of Gihon. For this purchase the deed of sale was made out in his own name, though he was not a Turkish subject, and this was a signal favour conceded by the Ottoman Government, on the ground of the purchase being for purposes of a permanent charitable nature. The witnessing, sealing, &c., of the Contract, that is to say the actual Sale, was performed in the British Consulate, but the registration was of course also made in the Public Mahhkameh (or Moslem Hall of Justice).

Some of the phraseology of the deed of sale was quaint and curious, as when it makes mention of 'the permission of the Sublime Government and the imperial throne (may the Lord of the Universe strengthen its might and its power!);' and where the purchaser is described as 'Sir Moses Montefiore, Baronet, the honourable person of the Mosaic sect, and ornament of the tribe of Israel (son of Signor Joseph Elijah) who is a nobleman of the Government of England;' and again, where the seller is declared to sell 'that which was his own property, inherited by legal inheritance from his mother, the delight of the beautiful, the lady Ghussoon, daughter of the deceased Hussain Aga el Birbât.'

By this sale of land to a foreigner and a non-Moslem, another of the remarkable events in the history of Jeru-

salem was accomplished, of which this year had already seen several—one more step forward in the progress of affairs.

Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, with their friends, at once removed their tents to within the lands so acquired. In a few days afterwards a massive piece of rock, which forms an angle of its boundary upon the road, was marked with the large Hebrew letters מ"מ signifying, of course, the name Moses Montefiore. And thus was a Hebrew possession once more appropriated in the Land of Promise after an interval of many ages.

Then the party left Jerusalem for Hebron, whither the Pashà had (for other reasons) conveyed his military force. He had promised Sir Moses to obtain for him, if possible, access to the Hharam or Sanctuary there, which is Machpelah, in order to pray at the sepulchres of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah. But in that the Pashà was by no means confident of success. I was there a day or two afterwards with the Pashà on business, and found Sir Moses in tents pitched within a small field about five minutes' walk from the town, on the side approaching from Jerusalem; and he kindly promised, in case of the Pashà's negotiation succeeding, to allow me to accompany him within the Sanctuary, which would have been to me a peculiar gratification.

The next day was the great Korbân Bairam festival of the Mohammedans, observed, of course, with great solemnity and rejoicing. Sir Moses gave a present of twelve sheep to the troops in camp for their evening feast, and twelve more in the morning, and also two to the peasant owners of the field and vineyard where he

was encamped, a bonfire with music being kept up all night.

It was said that two thousand of the country people gathered round to share in the entertainment, but I cannot tell where they all came from, seeing the notice was short. However that may be, the rejoicings were great and the scenes picturesque.

That day I returned home to Jerusalem, but afterwards learned that the Pashà had invited all the Shaikhs (Elders) of the Hharam to concert with him for the admission to the sacred sepulchres. During the proceedings, however, they were defeated by the intrusion of a furious Durweesh (Santon) into the pavilion (for no hindrance may ever be offered to persons of that character) who hurled curses without intermission at his Excellency, and roused so much of enthusiasm on his side among the people without that the proposal utterly failed, and thus was frustrated a case in which money considerations were less regarded than usual. Even the Nishân (order) of the Mejidiyeh from the Sultan, worn by Sir Moses, and the presence of the Pashà with an imposing military force, all these availed nothing under the circumstances.

My own opinion is that, had it not been the season of the festival of Bairam, and had there been no military display, there would have been no collection of Durweeshes and such people to hinder, and that the opportunity would not have been lost. The prejudice of the townspeople and of the authorities in the Hharam itself, although certainly existing, had been much over-estimated; nay, I should be surprised if the very character of one of the children of Israel, backed by some degree of Turkish

authority, would not have smoothed the way for Sir Moses Montefiore to Machpelah.

The common Jewish residents in the country, even when sorely oppressed and insulted by the Moslems, were nevertheless regarded by the vulgar among them, specially by the peasantry, with a certain degree of superstitious fear, and Kiamil Pashà might have found means to procure the admission with no greater difficulty than he had in opening the Hharam of Jerusalem for Christians.

In the present case, however, there was no Sultan's firmân, and it was unfortunately the excitable time of Bairam.[1]

With this visit to Hebron closed the pilgrimage of Sir Moses Montefiore to the holy cities of Jerusalem and Hebron in 1855, a visit productive of fruits afterwards, though, alas! not rewarded with the full success which ought to have crowned the efforts of his noble and generous nature. It was no light thing to undertake such labour at his age, in the extreme heat of summer in the East.[2]

His abundant almsgiving did not of course come within my observation, but I had many opportunities of

[1] I regret that the later proceedings of this nature in regard to the admission of our two English Princes cannot be brought within the limits of this book. When they visited Palestine, we had to do with a reactionary Pashà who closed the Jerusalem Sanctuary as long as he could do so, and who prevented the acceptance of the invitation of the Hebron authorities to Prince Alfred (the Duke of Edinburgh) to enter Machpelah. Application was therefore made in good time to our Ambassador at Constantinople for explicit orders from the Sultan to ensure the admission of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. The Pashà found himself constrained to obey, and the Prince of Wales was the first Christian publicly admitted in modern times to visit the graves of the Patriarchs.

[2] His seventh was accomplished when he was above ninety years of age. See 'Sir Moses Montefiore's last visit to the Holy Land.'—EDITOR'S NOTE.

hearing and judging of the beneficent schemes which he desired to set on foot.

It was understood that the public works which he came to promote, were to be carried out with funds committed to his trust, including the legacy from America (mentioned above) left by Mr. Touro.

But mere money would have been almost useless unless set in action by the prestige of the Montefiore name in Constantinople and elsewhere, and by the labour which he personally undertook.

Before his departure, Sir Moses received a petition from a Moslem Durweesh, guardian of the reputed sepulchre of the patriarch Zebulon in Galilee, asking for alms and funds for reparation of the sepulchre. It was countersigned by several recommendations from Rabbis of Safed, but there did not seem to be sufficient confidence felt by Dr. Lœwe and his friends in the reality of the Weli being the true sepulchre of Zebulon, son of Israel.[1]

[1] The pious Jews have a conscientious objection to any attempt at regaining the Land of Promise by purchase. They quote Leviticus xxv. 23, 'The land shall not be sold for ever; for the land is mine.' They trust in the promises, and believe that God will restore the land to Abraham's children in His own good time. To buy it would be committing sacrilege. —Editor's Note.

CHAPTER XXIX.

REJOICINGS AT THE FALL OF SEBASTOPOL.

Consular tour of inspection northwards—Holy Cross Day—Abu Gosh village—Ramlah Consular Agents—New Turkish Commandant—Jaffa and its one gate—Jewish Funeral—Caifa—Peasant women and wedding parties—Acre garrisonless—Laughable attempt to do the honours in presenting arms—Camel convoy of grain for the army—News at Tyre of Victory—Sebastopol taken—Rejoicings and Illuminations—Rejoicings at Sidon—Discovery of the Phœnician Sarcophagi—Lebanon—Fine Scenery—Among the Christians—Hhasbeya—Native Protestants—The Emir Sa'ad ed Deen—His hospitality and kindness to Christians—Visit to his Hareem—Journey to Tibneen—Reception—Glorious Scenery—Followers of 'Ali—Their banner—On to Safed and Tiberias—Morning Star over the Lake—Anecdotes and talk with Jews about Samaritans—The cholera—Journey to Nazareth—Reading letters from Jerusalem—News of the illuminations and rejoicings about Sebastopol—British Flag hoisted in Jerusalem—Austrian and French Flags hoisted—French Flag saluted with Cannon—Mimic bombardment—Visit to Mount Tabor—The Russian Hermit—At Nabloos—Rev. J. Bowen—Meeting with travellers including Holman Hunt—Bible Class of natives—Sunday Arabic services—Samaritans—Improvement in behaviour of Nabloos Moslems—Return to Jerusalem—Honourable reception, and British Flag flying over the Consulate.

THE time arrived for my annual tour of inspection through the country, in the course of which many circumstances came under notice with regard to the state of the country and the events of this particular period.

In giving a sketch of these, the Consular business which took me from place to place is of course omitted as usual in the description of my tours. Description of well-known places and scenery are also omitted.

I left our camp at the Talibiyeh on September 14th,

accompanied by a niece and by another English lady, who were desirous of seeing the country.

The day of starting was, according to the western (and Latin) calendar, the Feast of the Cross—'Holy Cross Day.' This is a very special festival among the Oriental Christians. Those belonging to the Eastern Churches, however, are twelve days later in keeping it, owing to their resisting the change of style in the calendar.

Even the Moslem peasantry reckon certain dates for agricultural purposes by this '*Eed es Saleeb*,' Feast of the Cross. All Latin Christians in Jerusalem were making holiday as we started. When we reached the village of Kuriet el 'Anab, Hhaj Mustafa and Besheer Abu Gosh came to meet us, and entertained us with sherbet and coffee under an olive tree. I remembered afterwards that that tree is very close indeed to the grave of the murdered brothers, the governors of Lydda and Ramlah, killed in 1844 by the Abu Gosh family. However, that was a long time ago, and this year the Abu Gosh people had been quiet since the truce of Bait Atâb.

At Ramlah we stayed with the native family, one of whom, owning half of the house, was Consular agent for Prussia and the United States; the other, owning the other half, was agent for England and for the 'king of kings' in Persia; the armorial bearings of the latter being depicted on a board in a conspicuous part of the house, viz. a lion *couchant* with the sun *levant* (is that the technical term?) over his back, and a sword proper in his right paw.

Here I had to read over to the Moslem Kâdi (judge) the proclamation for the raising by British authorities of

recruits for the Land Transport Corps, to which all due attention was promised. The British Colonel deputed on this service had already directed our agent here to proceed with the enlistment. Our agent put up the English flag and the Moslem governor's kawwâsses fired salutes with their rubbishy guns.

A procession passed the house consisting of a rabble of Moslem children escorting out of the town the Shaikh of the *Prophet Reuben.* He was carrying off a store of household goods, &c., on camels—he riding a camel at the head of them, almost quite covered with a sheet of dark green broadcloth, which he now and then waved about to the acclamations of the children, when I could see that he had all the appearance of a mere dirty peasant.

At Jaffa the French steamer called and took on board the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem on his way to Cyprus for visitation, as that island is included in his diocese.

Here, among other ceremonial visits, I had to receive the new Turkish Commandant for Jerusalem, come to replace the one of Hebron and Idna celebrity. This one had come from Erzeroom, and our Consul at Jaffa told me that he could be warranted to be faithful in the Sultan's service.

There was still the old vexation unredressed at Jaffa —that of having but one gate to the town, although a place of so much increasing business and traffic. Through that single gate every passenger and every loaded camel and mule had to pass. During the year two persons had already been killed by camels with their projecting burdens turning suddenly upon them round the sharp corner.

Petitions had been repeatedly forwarded to Constantinople on the subject, but in vain. The inhabitants of Jaffa even offered a few years before to collect about 150*l.*, quite sufficient for the purpose, for having a second gate opened in the wall, or rather to have an old gate re-opened on the land side, which would be particularly convenient for the new street of magazines; but no! this would be too simple and beneficial a plan for the authorities to adopt. An inspector was sent, and he reported that a new gate might be useful, but that it ought to be on the sea side—which was inconvenient for trade—and that the expense would amount to 30,000 piastres. This was more than the inhabitants would give for what would be no benefit to them; the Government had nothing to give: so nothing was done for many years longer.[1]

At another time the military made a representation to the Porte against the making of a second gate for the reason that Jaffa is a fortified town. No pretext more ridiculous could be conceived, seeing that a child could at any time (at least one in European clothes) jump across the trench in some parts of the gunless embrasures. Fortifications indeed!

By the steamer going southwards two London merchants took their departure for Egypt. They had come to Jaffa expecting to get on to Jerusalem; but being unexpectedly subjected to quarantine detention, were only that day released, and could not now spare the time for accomplishing their object.

[1] There is now easy exit from Jaffa. Much of the wall on the land side has been removed, 1877.—Editor's Note.

While at Jaffa we met a Jewish funeral procession of a Rabbi who had died of cholera during the day. It appears that three Rabbis had lately arrived from Alexandria, this one now deceased being the Chief Rabbi of Gibraltar.

Our companion, a native gentleman, was astonished at meeting this funeral, and said that in all his life he had never seen or heard of Jews being buried by daylight. The usual practice was to pay the gatekeeper to let them out of the town in the middle of the night, and this from fear of having the dead disinterred by Moslems or Christians. The Jews in Jerusalem have no such anxiety.

The bearers and company were singing in Hebrew, and as it was already twilight, a lantern was carried before them.

From Jaffa we followed the coastline, the first stage being to Cæsarea, where the tents were pitched by the seaside, close among the Herodian ruins, in a clear, starlight night, our slumbers lulled by the drowsy monotony of waves rolling in on the beach.

Next day passing Tantoora and Athleet, and rounding the promontory of Carmel as the sun set, we arrived at Caifa, where we remained a few days, during which the ladies had the opportunity of seeing peasant holiday costumes different from those of the far south country; for a wedding being about to take place at Teereh, all or nearly all of the women repaired together in procession to Caifa, to purchase dresses and ornaments for the occasion, and they returned in similar line wearing the new dresses, very bright in colours, and

singing a chorus as they swiftly shuffled along the road. Another similar body from another village did the same two or three days later, but returned with the music of drums and flutes. A funeral procession also passed before us to a neighbouring cemetery, the women beating their breasts and wailing, but staying at a distance till the men returned to them from the interment.

From the small promontory on which had stood the ancient Porphyrium we collected fragments of marble, porphyry, and verde antique; but the site is now a mere heap of ruins, 'without form and void.' The Crusaders' Latin kingdom, however, had a bishop of the place, and that title is still kept up in Rome, held by a Sacristan of the Pope.

This beautiful season of the year had its usual accompaniment of calm sea and charming tints upon the landscape; the distant view of Mount Hermon, however, from the rising grounds no longer presented the 'canopy of snow' which is visible for several months of the year. The regular calls of the Convent bell on Mount Carmel were pleasing.

On Sunday we also heard the bells from the churches and the striking of the metal bars called *Nakoos*, which the Eastern Christians, here as in Jerusalem, still use instead of bells.

Thence to Acre, and there the state of affairs was very strange; for the one real fortification of all Palestine (such as it is) was utterly empty of garrison: not one soldier was there, all had been dispatched to distant scenes of warfare—the Crimea or Erzeroom. The only resemblance to military defence, except the stone walls and the melancholy cannon, lay in the half-dozen peasants

who had been taught to fire, when necessary, salutes of the big guns. These men are called *Topchis*, a Turkish word, which could scarcely, without perversion of common sense, be translated into 'artillerymen' as applied to these people. Laughable too it was, as I walked over the barracks, magazines, and batteries, when one of these *Topchis* accompanied us for giving explanations, while three others ran by subterranean passages from one bastion to another, to meet us in each, and present arms with the two only swords in their possession. Such was the deserted condition of St. Jean d'Acre in September, 1855.

The spots were pointed out to us where Buonaparte two or three times effected breaches in 1799, and that place in the opposite direction, where the Austrian Archduke climbed up the sea wall and planted his flag on a battery, before the English one was up on the principal flagstaff at the bombardment of 1840. The transaction was not precisely the same as that of the Austrian doings in company with Richard Cœur de Lion, within sight of the same place. The turret of the castle, called *Kasser ed Dhahab*, belonging to the Hharam of old Jezzâr Pashà, still surmounts that old fort, but both of them are immensely shattered by cannon shot.

We passed the mound of Cœur de Lion and of Buonaparte on the way to the gardens of the Bahhijah, formerly 'Abdallah Pashà's place, with its empty pavilions, but with grand cypresses and fragrant orange trees reflected from a full moonlight in a wide marble-lined basin of water; the scene was exquisitely lovely. This property has now passed into the hands of a native

Christian who was repairing and furnishing it. Thus have times changed.

On the beach of the bay, as we returned, beside the delicately rippled sea, about a hundred camels lay near the walls of the fortress for their nightly rest, their Arab guides lying between them; their burdens consisted of grain brought from the interior for exportation for the army.

In the morning five hundred more camels arrived with supplies of the same description, and prisoners were at work in chains at the gate as we passed on the journey.

At Khan Nakhoora (going northwards over the White Cape) we were accosted by a well-dressed native Christian attended by his servant: he proved to be the secretary of 'Ali Bek, the chief of Tibneen (a Moslem of course), and he ventured in his master's name to entreat a visit from us at their castle among the hills, our previous host there of 1853, Hhamad el Bek, being dead.

At Tyre (Soor) on September 27th, after having visited the remains of this famous place of antiquity, especially those of the Church where Eusebius had preached, and which had been the cathedral of William of Tyre, and also after having taken a country ride to Hiram's tomb, the post from Europe came in and brought us intelligence of the taking of Sebastopol by the allies. At long last —!

A general illumination was resolved upon. At night the bazaar was lighted up, and at the Custom House a frame of wood, with lamps hung on it, represented the Ottoman crescent and star.

The ships at anchor were likewise illuminated with

lamps, their lights being doubled by reflection in the calm bay, the effect of which was pleasing enough. In the courts of some houses were bonfires, and pistols emitted 'fires of joy,' as the French express it, while the youths of the town went about the streets singing or shouting, 'God save the Sultan!' (Allah yansor es-Sultan). In the house of the British Consular Agent, where we were staying, all the musicians of Tyre were collected under the large vine-trellis, with their fiddle, tambourine, and kettle-drums. The governor's Tufenchis (police or *gens d'armes*) fired a salute in the court as we passed n to dinner. Even our flagstaff was illuminated by a string of lamps sloping down from its top to the roof of the house.

Thus was the fall of Sebastopol celebrated in Tyre. We remained another day for rest and business.

Next day we arrived at a late hour in Sidon (Saida), a much larger town than her daughter Tyre, though both of them are much degenerated from their ancient condition. We were lodged in the Vice-Consul's house. The family are of Maltese origin.

Here in Sidon also the fall of Sebastopol was being celebrated with rejoicings, and after dark we went out to see the show, parading the bazaars with all the pomp of kawwâsses we could muster. The minarets, and the Turkish Governor's house were illuminated with lamps; and the shops which in common times are locked up at night, were now opened—not for trade, however, but bedecked with showy goods (chiefly silks here in Sidon, where silkworms are much cultivated, as also on Lebanon near the coast), and gay with bright lamps. The owners

in holiday costumes chatted across the narrow space to each other, and musicians were posted at the corners of the streets.

The Custom House was very gaily lighted up, and at the Sardinian Vice-Consulate we found the street covered with a canopy formed of close lines of lamps; and there sat the old gentleman, the Vice-Consul himself, together with the local governor, and the Governor of Tyre (who had arrived that afternoon), smoking extra fine Jebail tobacco, and a band of music playing to them.

At the guard-houses of the town gates the soldiers had bonfires and cressets, and before reaching home a troop of boys overtook us, passing in single file and singing, headed by their captain, all wearing mimic asses' ears, and braying in their ebullitions of mirth.

I sat up till midnight writing despatches.

What was the display, meanwhile, at the British Vice-Consulate, where we were staying? *None whatever.*

The next day was Sunday, and complimentary visits were paid by all the Vice-Consular dignitaries. In the afternoon a grand Moslem procession perambulated the streets, carrying the town banner of green and white; it seemed as though all the swords, guns, and pistols in Sidon must have been brought out for its honourable escort; the people came beneath our windows and exhibited a sword dance, the side defensive parrying with small round shields the assaults of their adversaries. Then a negro exhibited feats of dexterity by rolling cannon balls along his arm from wrist to shoulder, sometimes throwing them in the air, and catching them, a droll fellow behind mimicking him all the while with

stones, and failing of course in every attempt—intentionally, to make the spectators laugh. For reward, some cheap rose water was sprinkled from the windows on the crowd by our hosts of the Vice-Consulate, and the people passed on. The man who was carrying the green and white banner, during these rejoicings over the fall of Sebastopol, had been a kawwâs in the Russian Vice-Consulate while it existed, and the Vice-Consul at present serving the Greeks, who was by our side looking on, had been the Russian Vice-Consul.

We were told that there were also Christians and Jews in the procession, carrying and discharging fire-arms like the rest.

During the evening a large procession passed the house by torch and cresset light. First came a multitude of boys singing, then a troop of men firing guns, then several hundreds of men each carrying a light in his hand, part preceding, and part following a wide palanquin wreathed with green boughs, in which conveyance were seated two men weaving silk at a loom, thus representing the staple manufacture of the town. The effect was both rational and pleasing. In returning the visits paid me I found that the most agreeable and luxurious house in the town was that of the Neapolitan agent.

The Turkish Governor sent out a train of Tufenkchis, with an officer to meet and escort us on our visit to him, which, added to our kawwâsses, made a long display in the streets.

There was general good feeling and enthusiasm shown in the town of Sidon by Moslems, Christians, and Jews, on the news of the great Sebastopol Victory. And

so we had beheld Tyre and Sidon in their low estate rejoicing in the defeat of Russia.

At night a Moslem neighbour came and offered to illuminate the part of the street comprising his house and the Vice-Consulate in which we were staying. The Vice-Consul came to ask my opinion about it. It was then late at night, and so I said it had better be deferred till to-morrow. Knowing the temper of the household as to expenditure, I did not choose either to desire that any display should be made, or to make any of my own in their house. But during all these festivities I managed by means of my own people to make suitable presents to the exhibitors and thus take my share in their demonstrations, but the English Vice-Consul (not of English birth, and a native of the East) gave no sign of joining in the general glee, or of spending even a few piastres on the joyous occasion, and this though his immediate superior in office was in the house as a guest at the time. I left next morning.

However at the same time a good deal was being done at the British Consulate at Jerusalem, as we afterwards learned.

While at Sidon I was shown the place outside the town among the gardens where the two Phœnician Sarcophagi had been discovered a few months before; the one still in possession of our Vice-Consul, entirely plain, with the exception of an outline of head and arms upon the lid, the other of extreme value and interest as having the most considerable Phœnician inscription known. The latter had been removed to Bayroot for decision of a commission on the question of ownership, which was

contested by our Vice-Consul and the French Vice-Consul.

Our man represented to me the conduct of the French excavators as very reprehensible. He, of course, considered himself the owner, having been the original discoverer—but the Sarcophagus was claimed by the French Vice-Consul for the reason that it lay partly in his garden, which adjoined that of the English Vice-Consul. The verdict was ultimately given in favour of the French. A French frigate came immediately by night and carried it off, before our man had time to recover breath from surprise.

It is now in the Louvre at Paris, and thus our Vice-Consul failed in his hope of selling it to the British Museum.

The morrow saw us leaving Sidon, with its fertile garden cultivation, its fruit trees, and broad-leaved, waving bananas, and also the cheerful sight of the long silk-winding works upon the beach. (There are also rope-walks here, where the trading vessels are supplied with cordage.) Our way now lay towards Lebanon. Passing on, we examined the house and grounds of Lady Hester Stanhope in the hills. Her grave lies in the garden. Arriving at the neighbouring great Convent of the Saviour (Dair el Mokhallis), after sunset, a deputation of the clergy and students issued forth to receive us with lighted tapers and ecclesiastical chaunting, the great bell meanwhile ringing in bold, rude fashion. This reception was probably the best monastic way of testifying a share in the general jubilation about Sebastopol.

After taking possession of our rooms, the Greek

Catholic Bishop of Sidon paid us a visit, he being there on business, attending the election of a new Patriarch. This convent is one of the most important places belonging to the Greek Catholics, and of course the inmates take a Latin view of political affairs (being uniate Greeks, who have acknowledged the supremacy of Rome).

The visit of this kindly gentleman was returned in the morning. On resuming our journey across the mountains, the ladies of our party called at the Nunnery, distant about a mile from the convent. They said it reminded them of an almshouse in England.

We spent that night at the village of Jezzeen. Here in the Lebanon we were in a country where Moslems are scarcely seen. There are convents on the hills, bells in the village churches. Maronite priests and monks met us on the road, who are saluted by the title of Abuna. We met one nice old gentleman in clerical dress with very white beard, carrying a red umbrella over his head, and preceded by a kawwâs with official wand, and attended by two or three peasants. This was a Maronite bishop. At one village, where the women and girls ran out to look at our ladies as they passed, one of the women called out 'Bon soir,' and then a man and his wife, meeting us, gave their salutation in Italian. At Jezzeen were two Maronite churches and one Greek Catholic, besides the little Convent. The people are well clad, and the children do not clamour for backsheesh. The mountains are here wonderfully grand, with precipitous passes and deep valleys, also running streams, and fine pine groves, walnut, poplars and plane trees. At the height of Jezzeen it was very cold at

night. Tints of marvellous colouring overspread the distant scenery.

Descending from hence, and crossing the Hhasbâni River, we reached Hhasbeya under Mount Hermon, where we were among the native Protestants and their pastor, the Rev. John Wartabed. The governor of the town was a Moslem of good family, the Ameer Sa'ad ed Deen Shehâbi, who had not long since returned from Constantinople, where he had been summoned and rebuked by our ambassador for his disrespectful language about our Queen. This journey had done the Ameer much good; his eyes had been opened, and from that time he was liberal and just in his rule.[1]

The Protestant community of Hhasbeya was considered to exhibit the best results of the American mission in Syria; but, inasmuch as the United States consuls carry out with strictness the rule of their Government to ignore all matters concerning religion, they only interfere for protection of the persons and property of their countrymen. Whenever, therefore, their Protestant missionaries pleaded for protection, according to the Sultan's laws, for the persons or the property of their convents from violence or spoliation, it was to the British Consuls that they turned, and the native converts also looked to amicable representations being made in the same way to the Turkish authorities when necessary. Mr. Consul Wood,

[1] It is painful to have to add that his conduct drew upon him the hatred of certain bigoted Moslems and of the infamous Pashà of Damascus, who was afterwards shot for his complicity in the massacres of Christians in 1860. Sa'ad ed Deen and most of his family, though Moslems of such high position, were murdered in their own castle, with most of the Hhasbeya Christians.

of Damascus, had been their principal friend here in Hhasbeya, although himself a Roman Catholic.

Were the administrators of Turkish Government 'such as fear God, men of truth and hating covetousness' (Exod. xviii. 21), the oppressed Protestants would have no need to apply for succour, from either English or any other Consuls, against the neglect of the national rulers in not carrying out the good laws of the Sultan.

By the good help of Mr. Consul Wood the native Protestants here had been enabled to build a church and school for themselves, which I found nearly finished, and they were even about to provide themselves with a bell, for all Christian churches and convents have bells in the Lebanon. They always called their building 'the English Church.'

In few places had the native Protestants been exposed to more persecution than there in Hhasbeya, and it was inflicted under this very governor ruling at the time of our visit. But this was before he had received the sharp lesson before referred to, and since his return he had given them full liberty and protection.

Sad tales were told to us by the head man (khoja bashi) concerning the sufferings he and others had undergone at the instigation of the Greek bishop,[1] such as having been heavily chained and kept in a standing position, and being taken to Damascus and there chained, simply on account of his religious professions. But all that was over now.

[1] Religious persecution, especially of native Protestants, was generally instigated by Christians, Latin, Greek, Armenian, or Russian.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

The Governor Ameer Sa'ad ed Deen and his five sons and a brother, all in rich dresses, called upon me, and next day invited to dinner the Consul, the Protestant pastor, and the head man of his people above mentioned.

The ladies of my party and those of the pastor's family, were also invited to dine with the ladies of the hareem of the Ameer.

When the hour of dinner arrived, the great man sent his four sons and a nephew to announce it (according to ancient usage mentioned in Holy Scripture) and lead the way along the street. They were arrayed in rich jackets of gold brocade, almost concealing the colours of the material, and they waited on their father and his guests at table. Strange difference from former treatment of the Protestants in Hhasbeya! But before dinner, to my utter surprise, the Ameer requested me to come and be seen by the ladies of his family and receive their salutations! which of course never would have happened but for the circumstance of my having a niece and the other lady with me, coupled also with the wish to show special kindness to us English on account of the political circumstances of the time. But even then it was an incredible favour.

There were a number of richly-dressed ladies in a rather gloomy and heavily-furnished apartment, all highly rouged, and all with the eyes delicately painted with kohh'l. The senior of these advanced to touch my fingers and bow down to the ground; the younger ones partly hid their faces, but some touched my fingers and then the ground, and kissed their fingers.

The ostensible object of this wonderful visit to the

ladies' apartments was to see the Eewân, an alcove sculptured in fretted work, which had been built about eighty years before, far exceeding in ornamentation, as the Ameer said, any object at Beteddeen or Damascus. We returned through the same way, among the same ladies. All I could do was to look pleasant, bow reverently without speaking, and remember the adage of *nil admirari*.

My niece and her companions were seated in a bay window enjoying the scene.

The hall in which we dined was adorned in light Constantinople taste, the banquet truly Oriental.[1]

On another day I visited the Ameer Mohammed Sa'ad ed Deen, uncle, I believe, of the Governor, who for some time past had also adopted the policy of patronizing the Protestants. He was rich, more so than the head of the family, but stingy, living in a mean house, till a fine one, then in process of erection, should be finished. All the principal men of the Protestants were with me in the visit.

The Kâdi (Judge) was a Druze, and was, like all hi nation, exceedingly polite. On visiting me he was accom panied by a merchant of Damascus, who traded in indigo from India, and considered even that slight link with our territory sufficient reason for a visit to the English Consul.

Our journey from Hhasbeya was taken southwards, so as to include Baneas (Cæsarea Philippi), with all its interesting associations and picturesque scenery; then

[1] How totally unable were we to foresee the horrible massacres there, only of the Christians, but of the noble family itself, five years afterwards

across the plain and up the hills on the west side of Lake Hhooleh (the waters of Merom in the Bible and Semechonitis in Josephus) to Hhuneen and Tibneen, the latter being the castle and seat of local government for the district of Belâd Beshârah, to which the Secretary had invited us some days before on our way northwards, and where I had been so hospitably entertained in 1853 by the late Chief. As evening came on, Tibneen Castle came nobly into view. The fantasias or general receptions, which seemed to be the order of the day in every direction (even at Baneas the Shaikh had sent his son out to meet us), were here surpassed.

'Ali Bek (the reigning chief) issued forth with a long cavalcade train on fine horses, decorated with velvet and silks and trappings of gold and silver. Among the party was my old acquaintance, the uncle of the Shah of Persia. It was a pompous show, and the walls of the castle, high above us, were thronged with spectators. Riding into the spacious gates, we found the courts occupied, as usual, by a goodly number of high-class horses.

The upper and best rooms were left for us, having particular regard to the ladies in our company. Rose-water was provided for washing of hands, and incense was burning in the middle of the room; but, alas! with Oriental inconsistency, our night was made sleepless from the plague of fleas! Eothen did well to speak of the splendour and the *havoc* of the East.

Nature, however, compensated for all the discomforts. Even the ladies, who joined me early in the morning, confessed this as we sat—trained hawks and gazelle hounds near us—on the terrace, watching the matchless

glory of sunrise over Mount Hermon (Jebel esh Shaikh); over Lebanon, and Anti-Lebanon, and the hills on the other side of which, we were told, lay Bludân with its vision of Damascus Paradise.

In the corner of our Great Saloon stood the banner of the Beshârah district, which, though belonging to a population of Sheähs (Metâwila), bore no indication of repudiating the names of Abu Bekr and Omar, but was just such a one as our Sunnees of the South would have in use. It was white with green bands across it, and inscribed as usual, 'In the name of God, merciful and compassionate. There is no God but Allah—and Mohammed is the Apostle of God. Victory is from God, and conquest is near to the believers in Mohammed.' There was also upon it a rude figure of an open hand and a sword near it, such as may be seen anywhere.

In the evening the people played at Jereed, near the pool below, which was worth seeing, the horses being excellent and well ridden. Before night we had the mats, cushions, and carpets all well shaken by the servants, and this process diminished considerably the congregation of fleas. Our ladies paid a visit to the Hareem, but were far from pleased with the manners and customs of its inmates, a rough uncultured set of Moslem women.

Next day, being escorted some way on our road by the whole procession from Tibneen, we went to Safed, where Rabbis came to pay their visits, as also the Jewish farmers of the village of Bokea. At the Governor's Divân I obtained satisfaction for a Christian priest of the villages around, and placed him on one side of me with the Mohammedan Kâdi (Judge) on the other. The

young Shaikh Shobaikh of the Skoor wild Arabs came in for a visit. He had just succeeded to the chieftaincy.

After business being completed, we left next day for Tiberias, escorted by the Governor and one of the Council, encamping by the side of the lake. How refreshing was the early bathing long before sunrise while the morning star was gleaming like a burning lamp across the water! And then the sun, welcomed by the wild fowl dipping in the lake, at his rising!

In the afternoon the principal Jews of Tiberias, Ashkenazim and Sephardim, came to visit us. They enquired about the recent entrance with Sir Moses Montefiore into the courts of the Temple at Jerusalem, and the אבן שתיה, Eben Sh'thiyah or Sacred Rock, of which so many miraculous tales are believed by them. On this topic they spoke to each other with eyes sparkling, and only in Hebrew; no other language seemed to satisfy the glow within their minds—the run of the sentences I understood, so as to put in a few words with them occasionally—but with us they mostly spoke in Arabic or German (not choosing to use the Holy Tongue for Gentiles).

R. Jacob Abulafia related some droll anecdotes about the Samaritans and his conversations with them. He ridiculed their excessive legal washings, which made them seem to be always crying out טמא (Tamay) 'unclean,' like the ancient lepers; and told how on one occasion when Priest Amrân had spoken irreverently of King David for having set up a schismatic kingdom and temple at Jerusalem, and then composed Psalms of his own, declaring that the Lord had rejected the altar

at Shiloh and Gerizim, and chosen Jerusalem for himself, he (Abulafia) had cried out, 'Silence, or I will tear that beard out of your chin, if you dare to say any more against King David and Zion;' 'of course,' he added 'the Jews can have no alliance with the Samaritans.' Evening came on, the sea like glass reflecting the mountains, including Hermon.

When they were gone we had our Christian Divine Service (it was Sunday), singing well-known hymns of our native land by evening starlight on the verge of that ever to be remembered Lake of Gennesareth.

There was a change of plans in the morning, and we determined to strike tents at once and go on to Nazareth, where Vice-Consul Rogers and his sister were awaiting us. Cholera was becoming serious here. Two Jews had died of it during the night, besides two Moslems and a Christian since Friday.

On passing the broken walls of the town (unrepaired since the great earthquake), we could not but remark the solemn silence that prevailed, and the mysterious lowness of voice in which people conversed. The presence of the cholera caused this gloom and anxiety. Our road lay over the field of the great battle of Hhatteen, where Saladin gave the decisive defeat to the Crusaders, then alongside the green woods of Lubia, Shejra, and Mount Tabor. At Cana our horses drank from an ancient sculptured sarcophagus by the road-side.

On approaching Nazareth we were met and welcomed by our friends, including the native Protestant congregation, headed by the Moslem Governor of the town and his train.

It was just sunset, and a large packet of letters was delivered from Jerusalem. We got our tent pitched hastily and a huge lantern lighted, then throwing ourselves upon the ground devoured the news; and, indeed, the contents were enough to justify surprise, and joy, and laughter, and the reading of several passages aloud several times over—for we had there given us in full detail an account of the rejoicings in Jerusalem for the fall of Sebastopol.

The letters told us how that, on the 27th September, the tidings of victory were proclaimed by the Castle firing a salute of twenty-one guns at daybreak. There had been rumours in Jerusalem two days before, after the arrival of the French steamer, but people had been so long kept in suspense that the news was feared to be too good to be true, although the sound of a salute of many cannon being fired at noon at the Pashà's camp at Hebron had been heard at our Talibiyeh tents, and it was supposed His Excellency must have had some very good news indeed.

On first arrival of the tidings my chief interpreter, Mr. Tannoos, in charge of the Consulate, had immediately raised the flag at our office-door (for the Land Transport Enlistment) 'a cubit higher than before.' But now on sound of the cannon, he made haste to hoist it over the Consulate house, and for want of better means at first stuck it into the chimney on the roof of the house; and thus was the Union Jack displayed officially in Jerusalem, the first British flag since Sir Sidney Smith had hoisted his in 1799.

The Christians and Jews crowded into the streets and to the city gate outside, to look and utter their

exclamations of joy and thankfulness. (To them this was the symbol of a change from fear to security, from oppression of times past to freedom in the future. None but they could understand the intoxication of delight with which these poor people drew long breaths of relief, as they believed old things had now passed away, and prayed for blessings upon England.)

The Rev. John Nicolayson—that long-tried sentinel who had kept thirty years' watch on Mount Zion, many of them very dark and dangerous years, amid sieges and revolutions, plague, famine, and earthquake—was no less enthusiastic. He gave help and counsel while a proper pole was fitted and erected by an American carpenter to serve as real flagstaff, and on this our flag was then properly hoisted while all the world looked on.

Then came the interpreter of the Austrian Consulate to behold and see if the British flag was really up; (the Ottoman flag had been hoisted as usual at the first moment of the salute from the Castle guns and was flying all day,) and then he sent a messenger galloping in hot haste to his Consul at Bethlehem, who brought back a small Austrian flag from thence, which was speedily flying over the Austrian Consulate.

On the next day, being Friday, and the news being confirmed by the Austrian steamer, the flags were flying again, and the Spanish Consul put up his flag.

Then the Pashà returned from Hebron with the troops, and an immense concourse of natives accompanied him on his entry into the City, under a salute of seven guns from the fortress.

The French Consul, who had also returned to

Jerusalem in great state from Bethlehem, paid a congratulatory visit at the British Consulate, and the flag was lowered in order to pay him the compliment of hoisting it as he entered the house, according to custom in the Levant.

The next day, Sunday, the French Consul and the *Pashà in uniform* attended a Te Deum in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, at which the Latin natives were so 'exalted headed' (*tête exaltée*), that some of them fired off their muskets (so it was said) within the walls of the church itself, and kept popping them off all day in the streets.

The French tricolor was then for the first time hoisted over their Consulate; all the officials in the City had been invited to attend in uniform at this inauguration of the flag, which was saluted by twenty-one guns from the Castle, to compensate, as was announced, for the dishonour done to it in the City in 1843, when a Moslem mob, resenting the attempt to display any Christian flag in the Holy City, had risen, torn it down, and dragged it in the mud. The Spanish flag was put up as well as ours. The Austrian Consul was absent in Bethlehem, and did not attend this ceremonial. The Prussian Consul was encamped at the Great Oak, near Hebron, and did not enter Jerusalem till late in the evening of the last day of these rejoicings.

The Pashà now commanded an illumination during three nights, and issued a circular to the Consulates inviting them to require their subjects and protected persons to take part in the same demonstration; and accordingly on October 1st the city was illuminated in sundry fashions.

Much enthusiasm was elicited. The residence of our Bishop was well lighted from flat roof, and windows; Mr. Nicolayson's house, inside and out, and those of all the Missionary institutions. The Latin Patriarchate was a perfect blaze; the French Consulate of course made immense demonstrations; the Armenian Patriarchate and Convent made great show; the Jewish Synagogues were declared to be splendid; one enterprising shopkeeper made a transparency in red with the words, 'Viva la Vittoria!' and one of the missionaries staying in the little tower on the north shoulder of Olivet, had brilliantly illuminated roof and windows. All mosques and minarets were bright with lights and festooned with lamps. Natives paraded the streets popping off their guns at random, varied by performances of Arabic and Jewish music. Each of the five hours for prayer throughout the day had been marked by a salute of twenty-one guns from the Castle. The British Consulate, next the church, had its regular rows of windows filled with wax lights and garlands of evergreens and on the roof coloured lights; and up the flagstaff and in the front, festoons of lamps, with blazing cressets, bonfires, and fireworks (bought from the Turkish troops) in the grounds. Our Talibiyeh camp had also its bonfire and its lines of lamps bright on the hillside on the West. Everyone else had broken up camp for the season, and come into town. At the barracks every line and every window, and all the loopholes of the Castle and the other towers, were wreathed with lamps.

After the last hour for evening prayer was over, the concourse was immense in front of the Castle, the Pashà,

the Effendis, and foreign Consuls being on the barrack roof to watch not only the fireworks let off by the troops, but a running cannonade and musketry fire from all the Western fortifications—splendidly done—and giving an idea of what bombardment might be. Never had anything like it been seen before, and the mountains and the valleys echoed and re-echoed the rolling thunder, and the cries of the excited soldiers, with the plaudits of the crowds, stirred, as Eastern people rarely are stirred, to boiling point of enthusiasm, by the warlike display. Visits were exchanged by all classes—Jews and Eastern Bishops, and Turkish officials and foreign Consuls—and in the midst of the excitement the Austrian Consul, who had come from Bethlehem to take his part gracefully in the common festivity, explained that his flag had not yet been hoisted, for that his Interpreter had been guilty of a *bêtise* last week in putting up only the Austrian Imperial flag; but this had now been taken down, and the Austrian National flag would not be put up until the decoration should arrive from the Archduke for the Pashà, when the National flag would be put up, and *saluted like that of France with twenty-one guns!*

There were rejoicings in the country also, and at the Urtas farm gunpowder and bonfires blazed; coffee and lambs were consumed by peasantry and Arabs from the country round.

The festivities and illuminations lasted three days.

Finally, on the last of the three nights came the spectacle of an army besieging the Castle—a mimic scene of Sebastopol. The space or open square in front of the fortress was occupied by a battery of cannon, besides

other pieces occasionally moved about, with musketry from bodies of troops posted on roofs of the neighbouring houses as assailants; while the fort defended itself from its roof and from the crenellated curtain and through the loopholes. Artillery flashed and roared, and reverberated among those hills that 'stand round about Jerusalem,' and large rockets rose and exploded in the air; till at length the besiegers rushed in and stormed the works and took possession of the stronghold with shouts of victory! The effect was wonderfully grand in the darkness of the night among the mountains.

Amid such exciting scenes who could refrain from asking, Is this Jerusalem? Any other city in the world *it may be*, but is it, *can it be*, Jerusalem?

These were the contents of the letters received at Nazareth.

Before leaving Nazareth we made an excursion to the summit of Tabor, through the dense woods, principally of evergreen oak. The Russian hermit, who lived on the top of this mountain (and whose companion was a tame leopard), was absent from his hut. But a deacon, his attendant, arrived just as we left it.

How grand is the view from hence over the plain of Esdraelon—otherwise Jezreel—and Armageddon! From one point on the summit, a portion of the Sea of Tiberias is visible. What did these Russian recluses think of the war, as they looked down over the Holy Land, to obtain possession of which so much blood and treasure were being lavished? They too must by this time have known of the fall of Sebastopol. Here they alone, of all their countrymen, were remaining in the territory of the

enemy—coming and going among Moslems and Christians—yet in safety, doubtless by reason of their character as devotees.

After visiting the Governor I went to the Latin convent, in return for the attention shown by the president and his brethren. They eagerly inquired for information, and discussed, even vehemently, the transactions of Sebastopol. In fact, I never found either in Jerusalem, Ramlah, or Nazareth, that the Franciscans had renounced the news or politics of the world. The Carmelites are different.

Our afternoon's walk was to Weli Sa'een, on the crest of the hill westward, above Nazareth, which commands a grand prospect of the Mediterranean as also of the great plain below, and of the country in all directions.

On the morrow, traversing the great plain southwards, we arrived before sunset at Jeneen at the entrance of Samaria (District). On the way we found wild Arabs of the S'koor tribe out in great numbers.

At Jeneen there was delicious moonlight between the olive trees with the tall palms waving before us, and the refreshing sound of the water rushing from the spring to the fruit gardens. In the morning we were surrounded by women and children beating the trees for olives.

At night we were met, on nearing Nabloos, by the Rev. J. Bowen and by one of the chief native Protestants.

The fall of Sebastopol was of course here also the chief topic.

Some English friends arrived from Jerusalem—Mr. James Graham (then lay Secretary to the Mission to the Jews); and Mr. Holman Hunt, whose name is sufficient introduction. He had finished his painting of the 'Scape

Goat,' and great part of 'The Finding of Christ in the Temple,' with their exquisite representation of the landscape colouring, in the marvellous tints which no one before him had ever dared to put on canvas. With them was Mr. Poole, an eminent geologist, who had been examining the resources of sulphur and other minerals about the Dead Sea, of course with reference to their possible utility in case the Russian War should be prolonged. (Next day in a ride to Samaria, our host, Mr. Bowen, discussed geology with the traveller, and told how chalcedony geodes are to be found in abundance on some of the neighbouring hills.)

In the evening, Mr. Bowen's Bible Class of natives came and sat round on the divans and mats, after the usual fashion of the country. The room was decorated with missionary pictures, printed and tinted on calico, for which a name had grown up in England as diagrams, and instead of glass for the windows, the spaces were covered with calico flags of England, France, and Turkey.

On Sunday morning, at Arabic Service (in Mr. Bowen's room, there being no Protestant church), the congregation consisted of twenty-four adult men and six lads, the women standing or seated together outside the open door. It is consistent with the universal customs of the East—for women to stay together separated from the men. Indeed it had been found difficult at first to get them to attend any service at a place not a regular church, and without the officiating robed priest. At that season many of the regular congregation were either absent in the villages or at Jaffa for trade. There was English service after

breakfast, and an Arabic service in the afternoon, but the attendance was not numerous.

We were residing in the Samaritan quarter where the houses and the people are cleanly. Their women are kept more reserved at home, if possible, than the Moslem women. Most of the apartments (all opening upon the terraces) have Samaritan inscriptions over the doors.

How wondrous is the medley in Palestine of modern events with matters of extreme antiquity! Our recent news from the seat of war—(eagerly discussed by our Samaritan friends, as by all people throughout the length and breadth of the land)—had no connection with Mount Gerizim and the Cutheans of Shalmanezer. Yet there we were, natives of the isles afar off, a link between that Russian war and (through their Turkish rulers) the undoubted people descended from the Cutheans, who had never been removed from the shadow of that mountain for above 2,500 years; who had resisted for a time both Macedonian and Roman legions, and who still inscribe over their portals in archaic characters, peculiar to themselves, texts from the primitive law of Sinai in obedience to Deut. vi. 9, as taught them by the solitary priest in Bethel out of the Sacred Volume treasured in Jerusalem—our home—whither our faces were now set upon our journey South.

We found that the Moslem children had discontinued their practice of running after Europeans, and singing offensive rhymes. We had succeeded in stopping this practice, when attempted, in some other places; but in Nabloos, even well-disposed Governors had been baffled in suppressing it. The fathers and elders, who undoubtedly

instigated their boys, kept out of reach; and the children were too young to be dealt with even had they been caught.

It was most significant that this offence should be discontinued, and I attributed the fact not only to the political relations of the time, but at least as much to the personal influence of Mr. Bowen, by which at least English Europeans were beginning to be understood and respected in this thoroughly fanatical stronghold of Mohammedanism.

Early in the year a German Missionary and his wife had been visiting Nabloos; the wife had gone out for a walk, and some of the unmannerly Nabloos children had thrown stones and ill words at her. The case was brought before Mr. Bowen; who made proper representations to the authorities. The Governor sent out and caught some of the boys; a whipping and a night's imprisonment were administered, and then, Mr. Bowen begging for mercy, the culprits were released after a sound lecture. But more than this, for the Governor sent, through the responsible Shaikhs of each quarter of the town, so effectual a warning to all the naughty boys—and to the parents who had hitherto been the real cause of the annoyance—that the best effects had followed. Europeans could now go in peace through the streets, instead of being followed as heretofore by a hooting rabble singing disgusting doggrels in Arabic.

On Monday, when leaving Nabloos, we were, by way of honour, pursued upon the road by the Governor with an escort of Bashi Bozuk and kettledrums, who, on joining

us in the large olive grove, kept on the way as far as Joseph's Sepulchre.

Jacob's well we found entirely blocked up with stones, so that even the orifice was scarcely distinguishable. This was vexatious, for I had formerly descended several yards deep into it, and thence thrown down a lighted paper which fell in corkscrew gyrations much deeper till it reached water. The anecdote of Dr. A. Bonar's Bible falling into the well in 1839,[1] shows that the well was then open, and it was said to be 75 feet deep, with 10 or 12 feet of water.[2]

After crossing the plain of Mukhna, Mr. Bowen guided us to the tomb of Eleazar, the priest, son of Aaron, at the village of Awarta. It is a handsome building with large old trees about it, both terebinth and karoob. The whole is kept clean and in good repair by the Samaritans. On the walls are pilgrims' names in profusion, written in charcoal or by scratches; the Jewish names (for there are Jewish names) were either in the common square Hebrew character, or in the running-hand, either Sephardi or Polish. Samaritan names were either in their own characters or in Arabic.

Sepulchres of Joshua and other early heroes of the Old Testament are preserved among the hill villagers to the south-east or west of Awarta, that is to say, in the mountains of Ephraim.

Our halt for the last night of the journey was at Beeré. Arriving there in clear starlight, we found Jeru-

[1] 'Mission of Enquiry from Church of Scotland.'

[2] The Palestine Exploration Fund are now proposing to clear out the well and surround it with a wall.—Editor's Note.

salem friends waiting to escort us to the tents, and among their congratulations it was clear that some mystery was in reserve.

In the morning came the last day's march, a short one. Before reaching Sha'afat the two interpreters of the Consulate rode up with greetings. At a sudden turn of the road, behold there were fifty Bashi Bozuk horsemen with two Agas in command, and the Pashà's Kehhia or Confidential Deputy. The kettledrums struck up their thick beating notes, and the horsemen went flourishing about in circles with uncommon animation.

Near Jerusalem were posted twenty Tufenkchis on foot, formed in double line, through which we had to pass, and they marched along with us in steady order. (My children had joined us before at the ancient Ash hills, and as we entered the city gate, a company of infantry presented arms.)

It was afterwards explained that this demonstration of welcome from the Turkish authorities was made, because the French Consul had received similar attentions for his nation's honour, on entering Jerusalem after the fall of Sebastopol.[1]

The Union Jack was floating over the Consulate in Jerusalem as we entered, and it was the first time that I had seen it there.

[1] The French Consul always availed himself of the rights secured by treaty to foreign Consuls of having a Turkish guard with him—deeming it necessary always to have official government witnesses of anything that might occur. We had dispensed with this hitherto, and did not now adopt the custom. I had not thought it desirable to refuse the escort of ten appointed by the Pashà to accompany me when last at Hebron, but had declined the escort offered by the Turkish authorities when starting on this tour. However, the present case was special and different.

Thus it came to pass unexpectedly that the progress of this journey had comprised a series of honourable receptions since our entrance into Tyre—where the news first reached us of the victory in the Crimea—and a better climax could not have been arranged than that of finding the British flag over us in Jerusalem.

CHAPTER XXX.

ROYAL BIRTHDAYS AND NATIONAL FLAGS.

Royal birthdays—Salute of cannon for the Queen's birthday—Ideas of the ignorant Moslems about European Sovereigns—Other Royal birthdays observed in the same way—The French Emperor's on August 15—M. Botta had left Jerusalem—The French relations with Turkish authorities—Sultan's grandmother a Frenchwoman—The Austrian fête, August 19—Austrian Flag in Bethlehem—Austrian Hospice in Jerusalem—Apartments for the Pope—New French Consul arrives—Status of France on account of the Christian Protectorate—Adherents among the natives—'Abderrahhmân el Amer reinstated at Hebron—The fête day of the Prussian King—Inauguration of the Prussian Flag—Proposal by the Spanish Consul—Spanish party disliked French Supremacy—Affair at Ain Karem—Friendly relations with French officials—Magazine of French powder—French ascendancy distasteful to Germans—British Consulate not involved in questions of 'Christian Protectorate,' or in any similar difficulties—The 'English word'—Opportunities for doing good to the Christians, as well as to all classes, enjoyed by Great Britain—These opportunities let slip and wasted after the Crimean War.

It had been the custom in Jerusalem to observe with ceremony the birthdays of all Europeans having Consulates in Jerusalem. After the demonstration made on the occasion of the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Brabant, it seemed that it would be useful to have special honours paid to the birthday of our Queen, as being one of the allied sovereigns now actively engaged in supporting Turkish independence, and this without regard to any future advantage to be gained, as in the case of the Sultan's Latin allies, who were, in some degree at least, gaining advantage in supremacy over their rival, the Eastern Church and the Russians.

I therefore this year asked the Pashà to pay honours, such as the populace generally could understand, to our Queen, not as to a vassal of the Sultan rendering service to a suzerain, but as to an independent sovereign and ally. The ignorant Moslems had the idea that all European princes are but the Sultan's vassals, and promise him service in return for his authorising their coronation, after they have been elected by their respective nations, just as the Sultan ratifies the election of the various Christian Patriarchs.

The Pashà was easily able to show a sufficiently public mark of respect, as he had done in reception of the royal pilgrims, by having a salute of twenty-one guns fired from the Castle battery, with the Ottoman flag flying.

This was accordingly done, and it was the first instance of such honours being paid there to any foreign sovereign. It was now the month of Ramadân, and Moslems of the old school were alarmed at the innovation, for hitherto the Castle salutes had only been fired on the installation of each successive Pashà, and on the Moslem festivals of Ramadân, Bairam, Corban Bairam, and Mohammed's birthday. The late visit of the Duke and Duchess of Brabant had been the first public assertion of the royal rights of Christian European princes; and it was very necessary still further to disabuse the popular Moslem mind of errors as to the position held by the Queen of England and the Sovereign of India, ruler over forty millions of Moslems; and as to the independence and free choice with which our nation had entered the lists in aid of the Sultan, and in repelling Russian aggression.

Even greater scandal was caused to the Moslem

fanatics of the pure Arab school by the same salute being fired in a subsequent year for the fête of their own Sultan—they were angered at the Turkish Sultan being thus put on a level with the Apostle of God, Mohammed the Arabian.

Naturally the French and then the other European Consuls followed the precedent thus set, and had the same honours allowed as the festivals of their respective sovereigns occurred.

According to custom the Pashà, the Commandant, and all the Consuls paid their respects in uniform: the Moslem Effendis and most of the Christian dignitaries and the Jewish Rabbis and Elders, all came to the Birthday reception. The scene is always a brilliant one. Besides the official and military uniforms of the Consuls, the Pashà and the Turkish officers, the Patriarchs and other ecclesiastical rulers vary the monotony of their existence by putting on their jewelled decorations and bringing out their trains of attendants. Of course all the subjects and *protégés* of the Consulates conceive themselves bound in duty to pay homage and to express loyal wishes for their sovereign in a formal visit on this day.

Sweetmeats, sherbet, coffee, long chibook pipes and narghilés are offered to the visitors. Flowers are to be seen everywhere, and for many hours of the day the festival is observed, and ends usually with a general reception and music at night.

On the Queen's birthday this year there was a very numerous attendance—everybody came excepting the Latin Patriarch, who was in Bait Jala, conducting an affair to which he and his community attached great

importance, namely, the laying of the foundation stone of the new church in that Greek village, which had hitherto most strenuously resisted the Latin invasion.

He was supported on this occasion by all his own people, by the Pashà's French secretary, and by the officers of the French Consulate, in uniform, so that everything went off triumphantly.

Next day the Patriarch called to offer his felicitations for the Queen's birthday and to explain his absence.

The other royal birthdays followed in their turn. The French Emperor's day came next; but before it arrived, during the interval of quiet before the outbreak at Hebron at the beginning of July, our old friend M. Botta, the French Consul, received sudden and peremptory orders to leave us for Tripoli, in Africa, with the rank of Consul General and *Chargé d'Affaires.*

There was an insurrection, too, in that country, requiring prompt attention, but he had already taken so deep an interest in Jerusalem affairs, especially in the concerns of the Holy Sepulchre, that he regretted this command, as a wrench from rooted habits and pursuits. He intended to go to Paris entreating to have the appointment cancelled, but as he afterwards informed me he was not successful in the attempt. He left us on the 9th, and thus terminated our agreeable relations with M. Botta, from whose conversation there was always something interesting to be learnt.

During the interregnum in the French Consulate, previous to the arrival of M. Botta's successor, the business there was administered by its regular staff of Cancellière, etc.

Here it should be mentioned that in the French service the Cancellière is an important functionary, holding a Government commission, independent of the Consul. In the British service the Cancellière is recognised by the Government, but holds no commission, being appointed by the Consul, who is responsible for his good conduct and management of the business entrusted to him.

The French Cancellière is duly educated for his profession in jurisprudence and notarial functions, which he enters by a competitive examination, and acts as notary and keeper of the Archives. In the Levant he is always a young man of ability and practice. It is not more true of a French soldier of the rank and file that he carries a marshal's bâton in his knapsack, than of a French Cancellière that he has a career open before him which may lead him to the highest ranks of diplomacy.

The Cancellière at that time in Jerusalem, M. Lequeux, was active, and familiar with the necessary languages, for the study of which the 'École des langues vivantes' affords special advantages—so that the French affairs there for the time suffered but little or no detriment. In the relations with the Seraglio the very reverse of detriment was the case. At this period Kiamil Pashà had with him a French secretary (which was a novelty). Never before had any Turkish official in Jerusalem been conversant with an European language. He was son of a Levantine mother, in Smyrna, and his services were of great advantage to the Pashà in providing him with means of information as to French

and European affairs—as to Latin interests generally, and those of the Patriarchate in particular.

The Latin Patriarch was well served by able French ecclesiastics as well as by Italian priests and laymen of various nations.

It was also useful to the Pashà to have means of communicating through his own secretary direct with the foreign consuls—without being dependent upon the translations of Consular dragomans; though these were still useful as checks upon the other. This secretary also served as an intimate link between the French Consulate and the Seraglio, so much so as not unfrequently to give just umbrage to the other Consuls. The German Consuls, not being concerned in the alliance which naturally brought the Turkish authorities into much closer correspondence than heretofore with those of France and England, were naturally enough uneasy at this state of things.

I have observed that the French in the East cherish a special friendly intercourse with the rulers of the country, unlike the British insular way of keeping them at dignified arm's length. It is in that spirit of calculating sociability that the French usually give to Turkish rank and office, not so much the Oriental titles as the equivalents in their own language. Thus it was common with them to designate the Sultan 'the Emperor of the East,' and the Musheer, the Pashà, and the Kaimakân, became respectively the 'General of Division,' the 'General of Brigade,' 'the Colonel,' &c.; such they are in fact, but with us it is more common to employ the titles of their own language, as they designate

themselves and each other. In a similar way the seat of Government is denominated by the French, not 'the lofty Gate' in Turkish, but the 'Sublime Porte.' In this, however, we simply follow them.

I never found the French officials enter into much intercourse with the mass of the people—the rural population—they rather view them *en grand*, grouping all natives together as subjects of the Sultan.

On the other hand, the Arabic-speaking natives held among them a traditional dislike to the French, which has subsisted from centuries past, besides the animosity which remains from the invasions of Egypt and Syria in 1799.

I once heard a conversation between two Moslems of the lower class in the streets, one protesting to the other, 'By the direction of the South (*i.e.* by the Keblah towards Mecca), and may I not die in this religion—may I die in the religion of Buonaparte if I did so.' (They here referred to the first Napoleon.)

It is true that the French in Turkey have a high position to maintain; not only in that they are by general consent Protectors of Christianity in the East, but in virtue of their claim to be regarded as the hereditary successors of the Crusaders. In their view other nations were then suffered to associate with them in the Holy Wars; but Peter the Hermit was a Frenchman. The Council of Clermont was a French Council, and Godfrey de Bouillon with his brother Baldwin, were Frenchmen, and the last Crusade was headed by St. Louis in person.

The day too appointed for the march of the first Crusade was the same as was now observed as the fête day

of the Emperor Napoleon ; namely, the calendar festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (August 15). Of course there is here no relation of cause and effect ; but the identification tells now upon the national sentiment.

Moreover, during the alliance with Turkey, it was not without a certain amount of glee that the French boasted that the Sultan's grandmother had been a Frenchwoman, and sister of the Empress Josephine. She had been taken captive in the Mediterranean by Barbary pirates, on returning from the West Indies to France ; was sold to the Hareem of Algiers, and thence sent as a present to Constantinople, where she became the chief wife of the Sultan.

The fête day of the French Emperor was observed on August the 15th, the usual visits being paid to M. Lequeux, the Cancellière in charge. Although the Pashà was absent the Castle guns fired a Royal salute in honour of the day.

Four days later, August 19, the same honours were paid to the fête day of the Emperor of Austria. The Consul, Count Pizzamano, was staying at Bethlehem with his family, and hoisted his flag over the house where he was staying ; this created an immense sensation in Bethlehem, chiefly among the Christians.

The old French party among the Roman Catholics were disgusted—but many were ready to worship the rising sun of Austria seeing that that country was coming out in the character of a second Protector of Christians in the East. The monks had received many favours from the Austrian Consul, who had sided with them in their resistance to the pretensions of the Latin Patriarch to

control their affairs; they were not sorry to behold the Austrian flag, rather than that of France, floating in Bethlehem. The President of the Convent paid his formal visit as in duty bound. The peasantry, mostly Christians, enjoyed the fun; guns were fired all day long, Sunday though it was; women screamed their songs of triumph, and there were bonfires at night.

I paid the customary birthday visit as soon as possible, and on my arrival the Consul, following the etiquette observed at the Consulates in the Ports at the sea-side, hoisted, as I entered the house, his two flags—the Austrian and the Belgian (which country he also represented). The Moslems were convinced that strange times had come upon them when foreign flags could be unfurled by Christians although in the town of Bethlehem, thoroughly Christian as that town is.[1] But they took no further notice of the matter, and so the precedent was established in that place, and step by step Frank innovations were progressing. The explanation of the steps taken by the Austrian Consul in Bethlehem, lay in the fact that he and the party whom he represented were furious at the French supremacy (in Europe as well as in Palestine), and hoped to give it a check in the Holy Land, by the counterbalancing effect of Austrian influence, chiefly in Palestine, exerted in and through the Convents, as distinguished from the Patriarch's secular clergy.

[1] It is not exclusively Christian. Two Moslem clans or families have gradually re-established themselves there. (Ibrahim Pashà had driven them out at the time of the Egyptian occupation.) The party of Salem Shakhtoor were always giving trouble—an unruly brutish people, *mauvais sujets* in every sense, living by thieving and mischief. The others under Subbuhh Shokeh were somewhat better.

By way of counterbalance to French influence, the Austrians were at this time making great efforts by a variety of means for becoming influential in the Holy Land. The Royal visits from the Belgian Prince and Princess, and from the Austrian Archduke Maximilian, would, it was hoped, serve to remind the Turkish authorities and all others whom it might concern, that there were other Latin Powers besides the French.

The Latin Patriarch was building his Palace and Seminary at Bait Jala, assisted by the French.

Well, the Austrian Consul put up his flag in Bethlehem opposite, among the Convent monks and their adherents, and now large sums of money were made available in Vienna for the erection of a splendid edifice, nominally a Hospice, but suitable for the reception of princes or ecclesiastics of highest rank.[1] Two years before and more, we were told that the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna was coming to reside in Jerusalem. And the Latin Christians had got instilled into them that the Pope himself was going to establish his Throne here, an idea which rapidly gained credence. When the Austrian Hospice was in course of building, it was expressly said that one suite of rooms should be so prepared as to be suitable for His Holiness's reception, in case he should come to Jerusalem.

The site chosen for the building was close to the Moslem quarter, beyond and eastward of the Damascus gate, near the house where the Austrian Consulate had for some time been established on the North-eastern Hill. (The British Consulate was removed to the last-mentioned house by Mr. N. T. Moore, in 1863.)

[1] The Emperor himself has since lodged there in 1869.

A vast mound of *débris* occupied the ground, and had to be cleared away before the foundations of the Austrian Hospice could be laid. Two hundred donkeys were employed daily during several months in removing this 'heap,' and transferring it beyond the city walls; the result of which was, the growth of a similar but smaller heap now to be seen on each side of the Northern or Damascus Gate, where the rubbish was deposited.

A little army of stonecutters and masons from Bethlehem was employed upon the works. The first carts ever seen in Jerusalem, in modern times at least, were brought for the more speedy removal of the rubbish and for bringing in the building stone. These carts were obtained in Alexandria, having been used at Balaclava when the railroad there was constructed for our troops. Their strange aspect and the creaking of their wheels frightened all the horses, while the amazement of the peasantry was excited at the skill of the Franks in building such wonderful things.

The Hospice is really a fine building. Great care was exercised in choosing the red and white stone of which it is built in alternate courses. But we were sorry to see the stone-cutters at work in the Olive Grove, north of Jerusalem, where they cut away (among the ancient quarries) great part of a fine cavern in the upper valley of Jehoshaphat, which the Jews consider to have been used as a synagogue. Its natural pillars hewn in the rock, and festooned with ferns and wild flowers—and a large tree growing in the entrance—had made this one of the most picturesque relics of antiquity hereabouts.

It was still more painful to see the blocks of masonry

which we believed to be a part of the famous third wall of Agrippa, and still forming a very fine fragment of masonry *in situ* amid the Olive Grove, being broken up into building stone for the same purpose, by which means part of the landmarks of ancient Jerusalem was obliterated.

The long-expected Grand Cordon of the order of Francis Joseph, destined for the Pashà, arrived at last (October 28). It furnished the wished-for opportunity for inaugurating the Austrian Flag over the Consulate, and having it saluted by the Castle Battery. His Excellency was duly invested, and people were told that this honour was reserved in Europe for Royal Princes only. Consuls were invited to attend in full uniform, and the house was illuminated at night. In another month the Grand Cross of Leopold of Belgium came to the Pashà, through the same channel, in acknowledgment of the attention shown to the Duke and Duchess of Brabant. M. Pizzamano was a Commander of this order and was acting Belgian Consul, as has been already mentioned.

The Austrian Cancellière, a Turkish subject, was also decorated with some ribbon or other.

The new French Consul, M. Edmond de Barrère, arrived on the 4th September. Jerusalem was naturally anxious to see what kind of person would be the successor of a man so remarkable as M. Botta. To some the new Consul was not an absolute stranger, for he had been in Jerusalem a few years before as Acting Consul. Since then he had been Consul in Damascus; but his earlier career had been in Tiflis and other parts of the

Caucasus, where he had no reason to acquire affection for Russian government as there exhibited.

From the time of his arrival to the present moment of writing, M. de Barrère and I have maintained a cordial friendship personally. His literary tastes and keen interest in the historical antiquities of the Holy Land gave us subjects in common and much pleasant intercourse. Politically, in everything that bore upon the alliance between France and England, we were at one. There were of course matters, such as that of the protection of Latin Christianity, in which we could not come into collision. The English Consulate had nothing to do with that, in which, moreover, my French colleague had to keep to the lines marked out for him by his home Government. It did not concern us that the French Consul with his officials should be present in uniform at every Church Festival at the Holy Sepulchre, or that he should be at the Church at Bethlehem at each Christmas midnight mass, and consider the presence of a battalion of Turkish infantry absolutely necessary for the preservation of order; which, nevertheless, was a sore point between him and the Patriarch, Monsignor Valerga. But strange scenes of strife did occur in that church on festival occasions, and we have met at the gates of Jerusalem the French Consul, and the Turkish troops who had been sent for in haste to appease the tumult.

The French Consul never rode out anywhere, even a few miles beyond the City of Jerusalem, without a Turkish military escort—in this respect claiming the right secured by treaty to foreign Consuls of having a proper guard. He considered it desirable to have always pre-

sent, official Government witnesses of anything which might occur needing the intervention of the French authorities in Constantinople or Paris. I had never adopted this plan, preferring to go about as far as possible alone, or attended merely by my own kawwâses. Of course there were occasions when it became advisable for me to have a Turkish escort, but they were very rare.

I was once struck by the oddity of an incident that occurred when I was returning from Jaffa, unarmed, as always, and attended by one kawwâs. There appeared suddenly at the brow of a rise in the road, the French Cancellière, their Dragoman, and two kawwâsses, all burdened with swords, guns, and two pairs of pistols each. This whole apparatus was deemed necessary for the convoy of a sum amounting, as we were told, to 50*l.* in cash. But the maxim on which the French authorities acted was, that 'prevention was better than cure.' They used to say that in the present circumstances it was better to exercise forethought, and guard against contingencies.

The *status* always maintained by France in Palestine, irrespective of the present alliance, is that of the Nation having the oldest political relations with the Eastern Emperors, and of being able, as well as willing, to afford a protection to Latin Christianity, which the Russians envied on behalf of Oriental Orthodox Christianity. The latter (the Russians) advanced the claim to a Protectorate as based upon one-sided concessions of the Porte in the character of *Firmâns* (granted by the Sultan, and capable of being revoked), and the dubious treaty of Kainardji (1774).

But the French Protectorate was guaranteed by repeated *treaties*, which are mutual agreements between equal Powers, and can only be dissolved by consent of both parties. Firmâns, which are all the Russians had, are only favours granted, which can be altered at periods of supposed necessity, or can be superseded at times of national convulsion.

At the time when the treaties came into controversy, say 1852, the Turks dreaded their own supremacy being placed in jeopardy, and indeed many Europeans entertained fears which, fortunately, never were realized.

It seemed impossible to foretell but that a crisis might occur of a volcanic nature within the empire itself, had the Ottomans proved less resolute in their line of action than they did. Had they been as wavering in the matter of sanctuaries as they had been known to be for some centuries past, or had they repeated, to the prejudice of the French, the trick of 1853, of not sending the firmân to Jerusalem, these might as freely have sailed southwards to Palestine from Besika Bay as northwards, and as determinedly as they afterwards, in 1860, occupied Bayroot and the Lebanon. The Lebanon and Jaffa might have become French conquests, or at least 'material guarantees,' before I could have learned in Jerusalem the approach of the expedition, certainly before I could have reported it to Corfu. (I had at that time to make reports to Corfu as well as to Constantinople and London.)

The French had from the first asserted to the full all the privileges and dignities of their position, and this in dealing with all classes, whether in town or country.

Naturally nothing was abated of their pretensions during the continuance of the present alliance. Wherever there were Latin Christians there were adherents of the French to be found, although there might also be, and indeed of late there commonly were, also partisans of Austria and of Spain.

The peasant chiefs of districts were always on the look-out for any circumstances that might turn to their advantage, and those of the Hebron district and that of Belâd Arkoob, about whom so much has already been said, paid assiduous court to the French authorities. They could the more easily do this as it was in their power to give trouble to Latin Christians and to endanger Latin interests in that part of Palestine. The French Consul's duties took him to Bethlehem, where, and in the neighbouring village of Bait Jala, were the institutions belonging to the convents and to the Patriarch, scarcely second in importance to those of Jerusalem. Here he was brought into contact with the Bethlehem partisans of 'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer, of Hebron notoriety, who could do much, at least so it was supposed, to make the condition of the Bethlehem Christians uncomfortable.

Ain Karem also lay about six miles off in the same direction. This place is the reputed home of Zacharias and Elizabeth, and the birthplace of John the Baptist. There were not only the old Spanish Convent and the houses of its Christian village dependents, but the French nuns were forming an establishment here, in which children and invalids might enjoy the benefit of fresh air. The dragoman of the French Consulate (a native of no

small activity) had also a house and some property of his own here.

It will be remembered that, some months ago, and previous to the Pashà's arrival in the country, I had succeeded in stopping the butcheries going on in the Belâd Arkoob, and in effecting a truce at Bait Atâb, thus checking Othmân el Lehhâm in his sanguinary career. But Ain Karem was in his district, and he promised to be its protector. Even before the departure of M. Botta he had contrived to gain the mediation of the French Consulate. He had not been punished yet for his evil deeds, and the Council of Elders of villages had amerced him in a fine, or payment, of 75,000 piastres (about 700*l.*), for the destruction of life and property caused by him. Nevertheless, his promises of future good conduct were accepted; he had been invested in a new dress, and was then escorted back to his village by a guard of Bashi Bozuks, because, with all the guilt of past slaughter unatoned for, he dared not risk his life by passing through the district alone with his own men.

With this example before him, it was not wonderful that 'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer of Hebron used his opportunities, and set forth how much he could do, if restored, for the safety and comfort of Latin Christians in and around Bethlehem. He was emboldened to represent himself as a repentant sinner, and I saw, when I was in Bethlehem, his son pleading the father's cause, and he also received from the French the gift of a new dress. Abderrahhmân himself came to Bethlehem a few weeks later, when the Pashà was staying at Ain Karem, at the French dragoman's house. From Bethlehem our Hebron

rebel carried on his negotiations with the Pashà, sending his son and the Shaikh of the Ta'amri tribe to and fro.

Events took their course. The Seriasker (commander-in-chief) at Damascus had clearly been somehow gained over by Abderrahhmân el 'Amer, and in due time he too was reinstated over Hebron, to begin his tyrannies afresh and recoup himself for past losses.

Both, however, Othmân and 'Abderrahhmân, went on quietly for a good while, and the country gained some respite.

The birthday of the Prussian king came in October, and was duly kept. The Prussian flag was raised and inaugurated by the salute from the Castle battery on the 13th December. With this an amusing incident was connected. The circumstances have been described under which the English flag was put up on the first arrival of the news of victory and the fall of Sebastopol. The French allies also, of course, came next. Inasmuch, however, as reparation of honour was due for the insult done to the same in 1843, when that flag had first been raised, the French Consul required that it should be formally saluted by the cannon from the Castle. This the Pashà at once conceded. How could he refuse amid the triumphs of the Malakoff? A similar salute could hardly be denied to the Austrian flag (the second flag held in reserve for the purpose, as previously described, so soon as it was discovered that the salute had been accorded to the French). For from this Consulate his Excellency was to receive his stars and cordon, to say the least. They arrived. The flag was saluted.

There remained, after these, the Spanish and Prussian

flags, the only other Consulates in the city; the Prussian flag, which had not yet been put up (Prussia being strictly neutral during the Sebastopol rejoicings), and the Spanish flag, which had been put up in honour of the victory, but which had not been saluted, for the idea of a salute had occurred to nobody till the French had received that distinction.

One day late in the month of December I was favoured with a visit from my Spanish colleague, Don Pio, who with the utmost simplicity and politeness proceeded to deliver a message, which he told us had been committed to him by the Prussian Consul, to the effect that whereas the British flag had not yet been inaugurated by a Turkish salute from the Castle, we, 'the three smaller powers of Europe—Spain, Prussia, and England, should combine and apply to the Pashà to have that honour conferred upon us jointly, the three ensigns being raised at the same minute.'

With due respect the answer was returned that a salute seemed unnecessary, as the British flag had been hoisted over the Consulate so long ago as last September (having been raised every Sunday since, according to custom in the Levant, as well as on all other proper occasions).

We heard no more, but on the 13th December the Prussian flag was unfurled and saluted, and the Castilian banner was also put up and duly saluted.

Since then various other Consulates have been established, and their flags have been put up as a matter of course, as in seaport towns, where they are always in use.[1]

[1] The custom was to raise the flag on Sunday and on Festival days, just as the Ottoman flag was raised on Fridays and on the Moslem Festivals.

It was curious some time later (in December), to see from the Mount of Olives, where we were staying, these flags of the Roman Catholic nations waving over Jerusalem in honour of the festival of the Immaculate Conception, and on the evening of the next day to hear and see the rockets which the pupils at the Patriarchical Seminary (not yet removed to Bait Jala) were letting off in honour of the same festival.

Some of the Consuls had raised their flags, a few days before this, in honour of the birthday of the Prophet Mohammed, which had also been honoured with a salute from the Castle guns.

The British flag was not among the number of these, but it was duly hoisted in honour of the Sultan's birthday when that was kept.

The Spanish party did not accept the French supremacy quietly, or without, at least, some efforts to assert themselves in Roman Catholic affairs.

During the general exultation on the fall of Sebastopol, the president of the Spanish Convent at Ain Karem undertook to erect, with his Consul's co-operation, an iron cross on the roof of the building, perhaps in spiritual imitation of the Consuls with their flags at Jerusalem. The Spanish Consul had, moreover, put up his flag over the convent. He could not see why this was improper, if the Austrian Consul had his flag over the house where he was staying in Bethlehem.

But this was inconsistent with the French protectorate of Christians in the East, in the interest of which a petition was got up among the villagers to have it taken down again, but it was discovered that the petition was signed

by the very men who had been employed in putting it up. On this fact being shown, the petition was changed into a supplication that no Consular ensigns should be displayed among them. After that the president substituted a small gilt cross for the iron one, conceiving that this could give no offence in any quarter.

But now came the French into the field. There was a French commissioner in Jerusalem at the time, and he arrived on the scene attended by the whole staff of the Consulate and the secretary of the Pashà, with a guard of irregular horse and a crowd of peasantry, Christians of course, from Bethlehem. The Spanish cross was removed and a French gilt cross substituted, by virtue of a notarial act drawn up on the spot and a written order from the Pashà. These proceedings were said to have been taken under instructions from the Embassy at Constantinople.

The convent was inhabited by Spanish monks to whom it belonged, and they bitterly resented these summary proceedings. All the more so because the French dragoman had a house in the village, where the Pashà took up his abode for change of air, having the French and Turkish flags flying over the roof.[1] And thus they were perpetually reminded of their grievances.

In these matters French policy seems to have been guided by two considerations—first, the glory of the French nation and of the empire; secondly, the well-being

[1] In a similar matter the Greek Orthodox Christians were able some years later to act independently of France, to whom neither the Eastern Churches nor any of their institutions have at any time owed allegiance. The Greeks set up a large cross over their church at the Holy Sepulchre at the Sultan's accession in 1861, and have kept it there ever since.

and safety of the Romish cause in the interest of which the Emperor was now doing battle as champion with the champion of the Eastern Church. In this view we could understand the energy and activity displayed during the continuance of the Crimean war.

No opportunity was let slip, however trivial, for advancing the cause at heart, and at such a juncture there could be (according to their theory) but one power in supreme command, all others must be put down, and any mutinous symptoms must be promptly suppressed, at least until the present crisis had passed. One could not but admire the zeal and unanimity with which French officials of all ranks laboured to carry out the ideas of their own government. And yet there were among these officials men of most diverse opinions, and belonging to various political parties in France. Nevertheless they loyally devoted their energies to the duties set before them, and adhered to the line traced out for their action.

It was possible to differ in opinion from such men, and even to be obliged to take opposite courses occasionally antagonistic to theirs, but bitterness and rancour were not stirred up thereby. Honourable motives on each side were not called in question, and, without impairing perfect independence on either side, pleasant social intercourse could be maintained, because there were so many subjects of common interest on which men of education could exchange ideas.

The land of Palestine and the city of Jerusalem could always furnish topics of absorbing interest to all those whose inclination and previous training led them to turn with delight, from passing events and anxieties, to others

of lasting and world-wide interest—from the present transition state of the Holy Land, to its past and its future; and in this lay the possibility of warm personal friendship for our French Consul, even when duty required, as it sometimes did, that I should take a line of action differing from his. Our divergencies of views could be amicably discussed and entertained, and then laid aside for more congenial topics—for researches into the past, with its grand histories and memorials, and even for speculations upon the future, a bright future for the Holy Land and for Christendom.

Many others, however, believed that we were really sitting, in a political sense, over a magazine of French powder after all danger was over from the Russian quarter, and that we were surrounded by intrigue.

Beyond all suspicion, however, the French alliance was honourably maintained in support of the Turkish Empire; the only doubt lay in the ability of the Turks to secure the plenitude of the French protection of Christianity.

Money, meanwhile, was not spared from Paris. The Latin Christians were soothed and cheered by donations from the French Government to the charitable institutions which had been originated in France, for the people could do nothing of the kind for themselves. Thus the 'Hospital of St. Louis' received an annual grant of 12,000 francs (500*l.*), and the institutions of 'Dames de Sion' and 'Dames de Nazareth' had each its annual grant of 3,000 francs (125*l.*). That was the case in Jerusalem. Other subventions were of course liberally made in Jaffa, Nazareth, and Bayroot.

And with respect to the local officials of the Turks, these were always well fee-ed after the completion of any piece of business transacted. The common idea of bribery is, that it consists of presents or fees before the favour is granted. But in reality how slight is the shade between that practice, and the custom which makes the granter of a favour equally sure beforehand of receiving his benefice afterwards, in a relation as certain as that between cause and effect.

Such a line of proceeding is far more productive of fruit than the principle of fear can be, upon which alone the English Consulate had means of acting.

Fortunately at that time the sentiment of fear was a real one, so long as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was at the capital.

The German Consuls were not cordially disposed towards the French in general. The French ascendancy at the Seraglio had been a very sore subject for a long time past, as well as the close intimacy, natural enough, between the French Cancellière and the Pashà's French secretary. Indeed, French influence and the French alliance with England provoked constant discomfort in our Austrian and Prussian friends. Matters came to a climax when the German Consul brought to me, as senior Consul (Doyen), a formal charge against the French Consul of having written in the 'Univers,' French Ultramontane paper, an article injurious to the other consuls. M. de Barrère was polite enough to meet the others at my house, where the matter was discussed, and this with considerable warmth, our German friends talking of publishing a protocol in the European newspapers.

The truth is that the offensive article emanated from a totally different quarter, and one over which the French Consulate had no control whatever. The culprit was a person whom we all knew, but whom our German friends had not suspected, and he escaped notice then and afterwards.

Our colleagues continued to complain that Palestine was governed in French interests and by French instruments, who even had European newspapers at disposal for the circulation of their particular views—such as the 'Presse d'Orient,' at Constantinople, and the 'Univers,' in Paris, through whom the Ultramontane party, headed by the Patriarch, could bring forward whatever they chose.

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that the German Consuls were at one on all subjects, religious or political. The Austrians had greatly at heart all Roman Catholic interests (as distinguished from those of the Patriarchate and of the French Protectorate). The Prussian Consul had, on the contrary, to represent a Protestant country, and to watch over the Prussian missionary institutions—Hospice, Deaconesses' School, Hospital, &c. Austria and Prussia were not agreed about the Russian war now going on, and the then unsettled question of German empire, to which Prussia was aspiring, also led to various jealousies and small uneasiness. The German newspapers to which Jerusalem news found its way, were the Austrian 'Triester Zeitung' and the Prussian 'Kreuz-Zeitung.' The 'Allgemeine Zeitung' also had a correspondent or two among us.[1]

[1] Meanwhile the people of England knew nothing about what was going on in Palestine or Jerusalem but from occasional scraps borrowed from the 'Univers.'

The Turkish Pashà sometimes found himself hampered between the French influence and the claims of the Consulate which had conferred the Orders of Francis Joseph and of Leopold.

Most agreeable would it have been to avoid in this narrative all allusion to rivalries and official dissensions in Jerusalem, but without mentioning these there could be no honest representation given of affairs of the country at that critical period.

Amid all the rivalries our course was unencumbered and simple. Our nation, with its insular position, had nothing to do with European jealousies, nor with the Holy Sepulchre difficulties, nor with the rivalries as to 'Christian protection.'

The British Consulate had charge of its own British subjects and of their property, which was of considerable value, including the Mission Church,[1] the Hospital for Poor Jews, the Schools, and the Cemetery. And there were English residents of independent means also to be cared for, and a constant stream of travellers. Besides these there were the missionaries in other parts of the country, such as the Rev. J. Bowen, at Nabloos, and others.

There was also the general duty of promoting, as opportunities arose, the interests of the present alliance with France and Turkey, in small things perhaps, but yet things which might give trouble if neglected.

[1] This church was built partly by voluntary subscriptions from England. About 200*l.* was also contributed from Germany at the time of the foundation of the Anglican Bishopric. But the chief cost of the building was borne by the late Miss J. Cook, who gave 10,000*l.* for the building, 10,000*l.* for the endowment, and various other sums for repairs, &c. The church is held by the Jews Mission Society, as trustees, as a Mission Church for the Hebrew Christian congregation.

Among these opportunities there were none which could be more usefully employed than those which enabled us to learn accurately what was going on around us, and keeping the Turkish authorities informed of matters which it might have been, and often was, to the interest of hostile parties to keep from them.

Under this head came all that related to unjust or unlawful treatment of Turkish subjects—whether Jews, Moslems, or Christians. The very first essential for the due fulfilment of the benevolent intentions of the Sultan was, that his servants in office should be kept informed as to events and facts.

And by this time the wishes and intentions of the Sultan had become so well understood, that remonstrance for neglect of any case was seldom necessary.

The English Consul then found his strength to consist in vigilance and diligence; keeping the Embassy in Constantinople, and the Foreign Office in London, acquainted with facts, for them to deal with; making it the rule of life to do as Hotspur says, 'To tell the truth and shame the devil.'

One remark is worth adding upon the character which the English bore in these Eastern countries.

'The English word' (*Kilmet Ingleeziyeh*)—has been often cited as a proverb, and I have myself heard it spoken in the crowded bazaars among buyers and sellers to denote absolute truth and unchangeableness. It is a glory to have such a reputation for a nation—a people noted for the 'Yea, yea; nay, nay;' this must have a moral weight among the mass of mankind.

The query is of no infrequent occurrence from an

Eastern to an European claiming to belong to us, 'But are you English-English, or only English?' (just as Arabic-speaking people are usually called Arabs; but the true pure race '*Arab el Arab*—'Arabs of the Arabs'). The distinction speaks for itself.

Long may such a characteristic be ours, without degenerating into that of the poet's portrait of us—

'Pride in their port, defiance in their eye,'

which is not usually applicable to Englishmen in Eastern lands, as we used to see them, except now and then among officers returning from India, whose habitual ascendancy over crouching subserviency will in some minds incline a contempt for 'natives.' (The same kind of feeling was betrayed by some Americans towards natives, whom somehow they could not help associating with the idea of 'nigger,' because, perhaps, of their darker skin.)

Yet there has been a Consul in Syria who could boast that during the thirty years of his residence there he had never shaken hands with a native. Have I not noted the tone with which his words were repeated by a native of good family and education!

Let us hope that the day in which such a thing was possible is now for ever past!

The German representatives among us never believed that the Alliance could be durable between the Romish ascendancy of France and the Protestantism of England, as exemplified in Turkey.

The Prussian Consul (representing, it may be supposed, the political principles at home) plainly said that he

counted on the 'Protestant principle,' which had given rise (as he considered) to the Anglican Bishopric, as a counterpoise to the effects of the French Alliance. Even in the early days of the political troubles this idea had been taken into account as a basis of calculation. Strengthened by Russian influence in the Court of Berlin, the idea became a fixed one in Prussian expectations as to the combinations likely to arise. (It was left for missionaries and others having practical experience to perceive how little religious liberty Protestants, or any others not of her own creed, would have enjoyed under Russian ascendancy.)

But the enthusiasm in England for the war had not been affected by that consideration. Other feelings might after a time—might possibly, tend to sever the affection of the two Western Powers; but that did not do so. England, the most powerful and active friend the Eastern Protestants had ever had, could still assist them, while fighting for the wider object of civil and religious liberty for the whole Turkish Empire.

England indeed at this time seems to have had no other motive of action than the bulldog habit of flying at one object, believing the cause to be a righteous one, without any collateral or after aim; and this we had reason to feel in the Jerusalem Consulate.

CHAPTER XXXI.

DROUGHT AND SCARCITY.

Scarcity of rain—and high prices of corn—Public fasts—Procession round dome of the Rock—Pashà attended service in English Church—Rain-fall and snow—Government granaries—Frauds of the Official Inspectors—Bribery and cheating—The Effendis too strong for the Pashà—The Jews suffer much—Some at work at Sir M. Montefiore's buildings—Some at the Austrian Hospice—Fountain flowing down the Lower Kedron.

THE close of 1855 was marked by a distressing lack of rain, which raised food to famine prices. Wheat was as dear as it had been in the scarcity of 1854, and rice was double the ordinary price. The early rains expected in October and November had been almost wholly wanting, and it was, therefore, impossible to plough and sow the winter crop of grain, as usual at that season.

The distress rose to such a pitch, not only among the Jews, whose sufferings are at all times pitiable, but amongst the natives of other classes, and even among the Moslems, that the Pashà early in November invited a Council of Consuls to advise as to what should be done. The advice given was to sell at a moderate price some of the surplus corn in the Government stores. A few hours of rain, however, raised hopes that the trouble would soon be at an end, but instead of this another month of drought and warm weather followed. The want of water now became serious, more especially in

the Jewish quarter, where the house cisterns, being mostly out of repair, do not hold enough for even a few weeks' supply of the year.

At last the state of things was so serious that the Moslem Effendis, headed by the Pashà, walked in procession (of course having their shoes off) round the dome of the Rock, in connection with the offering of special prayers to Almighty God for the blessing of rain. This we ourselves beheld, looking down from the Mount of Olives upon the Sanctuary in Moriah. The Jews had for some time been observing strict fasts with prayer in the synagogues. The Christians, too, took their part in the supplications.

But still there was no rain. At last the Pashà sent a message to the Jews, offering them free entrance into the Temple Sanctuary, in order that they might pray at the Sacred Rock for rain. The Jews declined this from religious motives, but requested to be allowed to pray at the Tomb of David, which was granted for the afternoon of December 17. Rain began to fall before the hour came, and continued for several hours, a fine rainbow spanning the north of the city before the sun went down.

One must have lived in an Eastern climate, where the rains cease, as a matter of course, during the summer months, to understand the intense feeling of relief with which those few hours of rain were welcomed after the anxieties of two months in which the rain had been delayed. But even now the supply was inadequate. The weather became cold and bright, and the ground was still parched and the wells were empty.

At last on January 6th rain fell in earnest.

The Eastern Christians in their joy ascribed the blessing coming at last to a circumstance that had occurred the same day. The Pashà had a few days before visited and inspected our church. Before leaving our premises he expressed his intention of attending Divine service on the next Sunday morning. This he did, remaining till the close of the Litany, having our prayer-book in Turkish placed ready for his use.

No one who remembered the condition of Jerusalem only a very few years ago could help being struck by the curious changes that had taken place. Few would have ventured to predict that on Mount Zion there should be the Consular flag flying, the church bell ringing, and the Turkish Governor going to church. How could the last generation possibly have dreamed that these things could have happened?

It was surely by special Providence that the patriarch of the Mission, Nicolayson, after his trials of thirty years in the country, should have lived to see that day. Whatever it did *not* signify, respect and toleration for Christians were unmistakably manifested. The day was Epiphany Day.

What was the joy of the whole city to see clouds gathering round, and before the Pashà could reach home the rain came down and rapidly increased.

The Christian natives said the rain came because the Pashà had prayed in the church.

Next day the ground was covered with snow, which for agricultural purposes is always regarded as a blessing even greater than that of rain.

The Pashà visited the various charitable institutions

of the city, bestowing alms on each, probably by way of thanksgiving on behalf of the people.

The distress was not, of course, relieved by the fall of rain, but prices fell somewhat.

They had been so high that at last (in December) the Pashà had consulted all the European Consuls as to what could be done.

Finally, the Mejlis (Town Council) had advised the Pashà to relieve the pressing distress of the poor by selling 1,000 kilos of corn from the public stores belonging to Government at 36 piastres per kilo. But the poor had not the money wherewith to buy; moreover, the grain was only worth 24 piastres, which is the price at which it is distributed to the troops for their rations. Only 40 kilos. were sold, and the Pashà then gave up custody of the grain. He had some time before seized the grain stores, on account of a discovery made of fraud being practised by the Nâzirs, or official inspectors and custodians of the granaries, both on the Government and the public, and he intended to investigate these frauds. The granaries contain (besides dirt and chaff) much more than the nominal stores of corn, and the surplus is annually divided as so much perquisite among the Effendis (Arab notables) in charge.

The decision of Council authorising the Pashà to sell corn to the poor above mentioned gave him the power to sell that surplus, gaining for the Treasury money at the rate of 36 piastres for each kilo sold. But it would not sell; the price was prohibitory. He could not lower the price without another decree from the Council of Effendis (themselves interested in its re-

maining unsold and in the present high prices being kept up).

The Pashà thereupon gave back the keys of the granaries to the inspectors, as well as their books, the seals of which had not even been broken.

Mr. ——, of the British Consulate, was present, and saw the Pashà's private kehhia return them. But this official had accepted from the Chief Inspector a sum of 30,000 piastres (about 250*l.*) for his trouble in this business. Three Effendis whom we knew had also large presents on the occasion, as well as the native *employé* of a foreign Consulate, since dead. The books had been kept three weeks with their seals unbroken, and no investigation into the frauds was ever made, no proper steps taken for the sale of the surplus corn for the benefit of the Turkish Government. The Moslem Arab Effendis were, as they had often been before, too strong for the Pashà, and he dared not interfere with their time-honoured abuses and prescriptive rights and immunities.

The sufferings of the poor Jews throughout the winter were very severe, only somewhat less so than during the previous winter. The rain that fell in January, and the heavy fall of snow that followed, reduced the price of water immediately. But the price of wheat remained so high as to be the cause of a semi-famine among the poor Jews.

The Christians and poorer Moslems felt the pressure; but they had wealthy members of their respective communities who could and did relieve them. The Jews alone were without help of this nature; and what we could do for them amounted to very little. People in

England, believing that the famine of the winter of 1854 had ceased many months ago, no longer sent funds for charitable relief; and the public at home did not understand that the fearful chronic distress in the Jewish quarter was capable of being relieved by means of industrial enterprise.

A small committee had been formed in London to promote the agricultural employment of poor Jews; but one single 100*l.* was the total amount contributed during the last year, and of course no permanent undertaking could be commenced with such a sum as that. The employment of a few Jews on the ground secured for the purpose was all that could be done. The small visiting society and the sewing school at Miss Cooper's were carried on; but these efforts could reach but a very insignificant portion of the distress.

It was therefore with no small satisfaction that we saw the building-works commenced on the land purchased by Sir M. Montefiore. These gave employment to some score or two of our old labourers, and a few others got work among the peasant Arabs employed on clearing the ground for the Austrian Hospice.

The idea of living by labour had so far taken root among our poor Jewish friends; and we trusted that in time and with perseverance people elsewhere would be got to understand their great need of help, in order that they might support themselves by their own industry.

There was much also to be done in informing people at home as to the capabilities and fertility of the soil in Palestine. On this head we trusted that great good would come from the practical experiment now making at the

Urtas Farm near Bethlehem, and which we did what we could to aid and encourage.

The rains came abundantly during the early months of 1856, and by the end of March the water from the fountain of Beer Eyoob was flowing abundantly down the Lower Kedron, amid the rejoicings of the whole population. There was heavy rain again in the middle of April, just before the Jewish Passover; the supply for the year was therefore abundant for agricultural and domestic needs, and prices began to abate in Jerusalem. The peasantry were in excellent spirits as to their crops, and the material condition of the country was at this time decidedly prosperous; the landscapes around were exceedingly beautiful, clothed with rich green, the trees budding out, and the hills covered with innumerable wild flowers of rosy hue. Never had the land of Palestine looked more lovely than it did this spring; and by night the full Passover moon shed indescribable soft radiance over all.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE WAR ENDED.

News of successes in the Crimea—Affairs in Armenia—as bearing on India—Arrival of Colonel Walpole with his Bashi-Bozuk—He visits the Temple Sanctuary—Tidings that the War is over—Pilgrims arrive—Latin Easter—News of the Sultan's Edict of Toleration—and of the birth of the Prince Imperial of France—Rejoicings—Great body of Christians and European travellers are admitted to the Temple Sanctuary.

NEWS of the successes in the Crimea were brought to us from time to time by travellers returning from the scene of operations at Sebastopol, in Circassia, and at Erzeroom; and the tidings were eagerly devoured or received with undisguised vexation, according to the feelings and sympathies of the various hearers.

The Castle guns had been fired in the middle of the day on October 29th to announce to the country a Turkish victory at Kars; but that place seemed a long way off to most people. Not so, however, to the Armenians in the convent. *They* knew that part of the Turkish dominions, and had followed with keen interest the operations which, if successful, might annex all Armenia to the Russian Empire. There could be no doubt that if conquered it would be kept by the Czar unless other powers should interfere. And those Armenians whose home had been India, and some of whom could speak a little English, were watching to see what effect the

war would have in that direction. India seemed to many in Jerusalem much nearer than England, because they knew something about it and could understand it.

The Hindoo Moslem pilgrims, who brought stones and rosaries, and small trinkets for sale in the bazaars of Jerusalem, were known to be British subjects from India. Sometimes an English-speaking Coptic merchant would address us in the Grotto Church at the foot of Olivet, glad to claim friendly notice on the ground that he came from India. The Jacobite Syrian Christians kept up correspondence with their churches on the Malabar coast, and loved to talk with us about India, and how St. Thomas the Apostle and other Christian disciples had gone from this Holy Land, the first missionaries to India. The Abyssinians were familiar with the idea of Indian trade from the east coast of Africa, and knew well that India was under British rule. And to the Moslems in general nothing seemed more natural than that the sovereign of India, with all their fellow-Moslems (but of whose numbers they had very vague ideas), should be good friends with the Sultan.

The Jews, too, had relations with their brethren in India, and to them the warlike operations at Erzeroom and Kars were peculiarly interesting for the other reason, that if victorious there the King of the North would speedily direct his march—so they expected—and bring the hordes of Gog and Magog to overrun their Holy Land of Promise.

But nothing came, for this time at least, from the storm-clouds in the north-east. The winter passed quietly by.

Early in 1856 Colonel Walpole visited Jerusalem with a detachment of his Bashi-Bozuk, in English pay and under his command. The rest had been left under his coadjutor, Colonel ——, near Acre.

The Pashà of course sent out a troop of his Bashi-Bozuk to receive him. The show was pretty as the cavalcade approached. Spears were borne before the Colonel, and they were not only decked with ostrich feathers, like those of the Bedaween, but with horsetails, so as to resemble a Pashà of olden time. A capital trumpeter rode in front.

We were informed afterwards of the revolt of the detachment left at Acre, their colonel having taken it into his head to have a silver cross placed above their banner, though they were all Mohammedans. They remonstrated in vain, and were told that by a certain hour on the morrow the cross should be put up. The morrow came; but on his waking early he discovered that his corps was not there—it was absent without leave, and in full retreat to Damascus, to represent their grievance to H.E. the commander-in-chief.

Colonel Walpole spoke very well of his men, and the experiment seemed to bear out the opinion we had often heard expressed as to the good soldiers to be found in Turkey if only the men were officered.

The Pashà invited Colonel and Mrs. Walpole to visit the Hharam Sanctuary, which they did in perfect comfort, accompanied by several English residents of Jerusalem, among them the Rev. J. Nicolayson, the veteran missionary. He had refused to enter that sacred place with the great Latin party, and now rejoiced that he could go

quietly with a British officer, 'as was more fitting for a clergyman of our Church.'

The Pashà considered this honour was due to Colonel Walpole, a British officer on active service in the Sultan's cause, and the people in Jerusalem perfectly entered into the idea. There was no special preparation. The Pashà was attended by his own people, Colonel Walpole by his and by the kawwâsses and interpreter of the British Consulate. (I was taken ill on the way, and had to return.) The visit was early in the morning, and passed off pleasantly.

Thus were ancient prejudices gradually put aside step by step. And thus, by firmness and tact, and judicious use of opportunities as they arise, might more serious difficulties be dealt with.

Industry, determination without bluster, and patient vigilance may accomplish greater things than any that have yet been done in Turkey.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The following letter to the Editor of the 'Pall Mall Gazette' of December 21, 1876, bears testimony to the value of these Bashi-Bozuk under English discipline:—

Sir,—As I consider that at the present crisis it is almost a duty of every man to make public anything he may know in favour of the Turks, I should feel obliged if you could grant space in your paper for these few lines, and also for the enclosed copy of a letter from Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the occasion which elicited it being the disbanding of the Corps of Osmanli Irregular Cavalry, raised for service under British officers during the Crimean War. The above force was collected about September 1855, on the Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles, and was composed of about 3,000 horsemen, who, on the whole, were about as great a body of ruffians as could be found in

European or Asiatic Turkey. The present General, M. M. Smith, C.B., assumed command of this force from the late General Beatson in October, 1855, and in November it crossed to Europe, *en route* to Shumla, and marched, without tents, by six different passes, over the Balkan range of mountains, each regiment led by its English commanding officer, and accompanied by the present Colonel Malcolm Green, C.B., as assistant adjutant-general; General Smith and the rest of the head-quarter staff proceeding by sea to Varna, and thence on to Shumla to prepare for the reception of the force. During the winter of 1856 the regiments were being what may be truly called licked into shape, and in June of the same year seven regiments of very respectable light cavalry passed in review before the general. Each man had been provided by the British Government with a suit of clothes, uniform, but in accordance with his national costume; arms had also been given to them—lances and swords to the Arab and Kurdish horsemen, while Enfield rifles had been supplied to the Albanians and Bulgarians. On the cessation of the war the force was ordered to be disbanded, each regiment being marched to its place of enlistment for that purpose. The above localities comprised Aleppo and Damascus, as well as different parts of European Turkey. Each commanding officer was required to forward to the head-quarters, which moved to Constantinople, a report of the conduct of his regiment during its march, as also a certificate from the principal official of each town and village where it might halt as to everything having been paid for and that there were no complaints. These reports, when collected, were forwarded to the British Embassy, and called forth the letter which I have alluded to. On being discharged each individual received, in the name of the Queen of England, his clothing, arms, and one sovereign; also a discharge certificate. I would add that these men, under the title of Osmanli Irregular Cavalry, were really the much-dreaded Bashi-Bazouks, and that the effect of the treatment which they received from the hands of their English officers is, that if at the present moment England required the services of 50,000 horsemen, she

could obtain them with ease, while the employment of a few English officers would bring them under discipline. I speak on this subject from a personal knowledge of the facts, having been Adjutant-General to the force in question,

I remain yours obediently,

HENRY GREEN.

December 20.

ENCLOSURE.

Therapia, September 23, 1856.

SIR,—I have received your despatch informing me that the corps of Osmanli Irregular Cavalry, commanded latterly by you, is now completely disbanded. I had previously received your several despatches, enclosing for my information copies of reports and certificates relative to the return of the several regiments which composed it to their respective districts. I have now the honour to congratulate you on the admirable conduct which these troops appear to have displayed on their march homewards and up to the last moment of their service under British officers. It rests with her Majesty's Government to appreciate the merit of those who, like yourself, though in less proportion, have contributed under your direction to so honourable and important a result. I only perform a subordinate duty when I bear witness to the excellent effect produced in this country by the success which has attended an experiment considered in the outset by many as doubtful and even hazardous. The proofs that you have furnished that a wild irregular soldiery may be brought into a state of cheerful attention to military duties, and also that Turkish obedience under arms is compatible with the exercise of an efficient command by Christian foreigners, can hardly fail to leave impressions more durable than the passing circumstance which drew them out. Allow me to express, in conclusion, my sense of the obliging and considerate manner in which you have uniformly maintained your official relations with her Majesty's Embassy.

I have the honour, &c., &c.,

STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE.

To Major-General M. Smith, Commander
Osmanli Irregular Cavalry.

And now, early in February (Feb. 5th, 1856), came tidings by post of the Russian war being ended.

There was a cessation of hostilities. The plenary treaty of peace was to be settled in a congress to be held at Paris. Then the pilgrims would arrive as heretofore and trade would revive.

How glad were all the poor whose livelihood depended on the pilgrim season of Easter. How the Greek and Armenian convents rejoiced, and pilgrims soon began to arrive, the streets filled rapidly, and the season of Lent was as bustling as ever. The streets became filled, and though the Oriental Easter was much later than that of the Latins, the convents also began to fill.

The Latin Easter (coincident of course with ours) occurred very early—on March 23rd. It was also coincident this year with the Jewish feast of Purim ('Lots'), or Esther and Mordecai. It passed off quietly and joyously on the part of the many Latin pilgrims and Roman Catholic visitors from various countries. The late triumph of the allies was considered a special triumph for the Latin cause, even by those Roman Catholics who were jealous of the French supremacy and anxious to throw it off as soon as possible.

The Oriental Easter was not yet arrived. But according to custom the Armenian Patriarch and clergy, with other Eastern Christians, paid us a visit of congratulation on Easter Tuesday, and the Turkish Military authorities did so likewise, which had not been always customary, but in this too the war had had its effect.

During Easter week there occurred two events of great interest and importance.

The first was the arrival in Jerusalem of the intelligence that the Sultan had caused his Decree of Toleration, the Hatt-i-Hummayoon, to be formally promulgated.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

We had long been aware that our Ambassador had been, for the last few months, preparing to consolidate and secure for Christians in the East the blessings which, during many years of anxious labour, he had sought for them from the Sultan—blessings which the amiable character of his Majesty inclined him to grant, when Lord Stratford de Redcliffe brought before him the condition of his subjects, and the method by which civil and religious liberty might be wrought out for them, to the infinite advantage of all, and the discomfiture of intriguers against the peace of the world and the welfare of all their fellow creatures—Christians, Jews, and Moslems.

But people in those days were willing to believe that all would combine for the general good; at least it was pleasant and saved trouble to think so, for if everybody was working in the good cause it would be nobody's business in particular. Christians in the East, and all the rest might be safely left to take care of themselves, for good and brave Englishmen had died to uphold the cause of justice, and trade was reviving, and Turkish loans were a good investment, and—but why go on? 'Après moi le déluge,' may perhaps not be a Christian maxim, but it is a convenient one. True, it is in the French language, but probably the English nation understood it, or something of the same meaning, when after the Crimean war, they refrained from enquiring what was being done to carry out the benevolent institutions and the reforms of the Sultan Abdu 'l Mejid.

Soon afterwards there was a festivity of a different nature.

Scarcely was our Easter and that of the Latins over, before the Castle guns fired a salute of twenty-one guns at

seven o'clock in the morning on the last day of March, another salute again at noon, and another at sunset.

Thus was announced to the varied population and to all the pilgrims in the city (for it was drawing towards Easter, and pilgrims and travellers were arriving in considerable numbers) that there was born the Prince Imperial of France, heir to the Emperor Louis Napoleon Buonaparte. The French mail had brought the tidings at daybreak.

Visits of congratulation (in uniform) were of course paid at the French Consulate, and arrangements made for illumination of the British Consulate at night, and for entertainment of the French Consul with his staff and all French and English travellers, as also of the Pashà and his suite. Native musicians attended and performed Oriental music on the dulcimer, accompanied with singing. The son of the barber Butros was the chief singer, and he and his fellow performers also gave us a free translation in Arabic of the initial verses of the 'Marseillaise' and the 'Parisienne' (which, by the bye, could not have been sung in France at the time). They also sang an Arabic national anthem suited to the circumstances of the period—a spirited production, of which both words and music were composed by a Christian, a Maronite of Mount Lebanon named Nakhâsh. It was remarked as an excess of loyal flourish, that in the chorus the peculiar epithet *Ghâzi* was applied to the Sultan in each verse. This signifies one who goes forth to make successful warfare, and it is implied that the war is upon infidels to his faith—rather a venturesome flight of poetry for any Christian to allow himself. There was not a word

of allusion to his Majesty's allies. In the rests between these performances, some Jews outside the windows, which were filled with lights and garlanded with evergreens, gave us interludes on a kind of bagpipe, with cymbals and a big drum, played without any intelligible time or tune.

It was curious to see the native townspeople with lanterns in hand standing in lines against the opposite walls listening and enjoying the unusual spectacle, watching the kawwâs and two Abyssinians who grinned with delight while keeping up the bonfire and the row of tar fires in pots on the roof.

The Austrian Consular flag had been raised for about half an hour during the day, and that of Russia for a while also. Next day a formal banquet was given at the French Consulate to the Latin Patriarch, the Pashà, myself, and some others, at which brief speeches were made in proposing appropriate toasts in honour of the allied Sovereigns, the recent victories in the Crimea, the bright prospects of Christianity (which some of those present interpreted of *Latin* Christianity) in the East.

That evening there was an assembly at the Consulate, perhaps the most extraordinary in its composition that we had ever witnessed under our roof, or indeed in Jerusalem. The ecclesiastical heads of all the various churches were present with their respective suites, including the Latin Patriarch, the Armenian Patriarch and bishops, the Venerable Greek Metropolitan Bishop (his Patriarch being away in Constantinople). The English Bishop had left the day before for Nabloos, but the head of the Jewish Mission, John Nicolayson, and the

physician, Dr. Macgowan, were present, as well as ecclesiastics of other nations, among them an Apostle of the Irvingites, and le Père Ratisbonne (founder of the new order of the *Dames de Sion*), in his clerical dress, and with highly intellectual Jewish features; the Turkish Pashà and his suite; the Commandant of the troops with his, and the French Consul with his suite and the French travellers, and a new Spanish Consul-General (the first foreigner appointed to that rank for Jerusalem and newly arrived), Don Fernando de la Vera y Isla. Besides these were a host of travellers and residents of all nations. The high ecclesiastics and officials all wore their decorations —ribands, stars, crosses, and religious insignia—with a profusion of diamonds.

The scene was extraordinary to us, who had become somewhat inured to strange assemblages; how much more, then, to travellers visiting the Holy Land for the first time, and having little idea as to the actual condition of Jerusalem, with all its varied peoples and interests, its languages, manners, and divers costumes. No German of any nation had accepted the invitation to be present.

The English travellers present were most anxious to obtain permission to visit the Temple Sanctuary. The Pashà at once granted the favour, and fixed an early hour on the following Friday.

This visit to the Hharam was in many respects different to any that had gone before.

The first time—when the Duke of Brabant entered—it had been necessary to take every possible precaution —to shut up the African guardians under the bayonets of infantry, to post troops at each gate, to surround the

visitors with soldiers. This was the entry that the Latin Christians made.

The next occasion was when a representative of the Jewish people, Sir M. Montefiore, and his friends had this mark of distinction accorded to them in their capacity of Israelites who were at the same time British subjects. On that occasion there was little actual danger. The ice had been broken; Christians had been admitted, then why not Jews and English? 'Let the will of Allah be done!' The Africans were not imprisoned; they had their liberty; but the visitors were still guarded closely by infantry, and kept from wandering about.

The visit of the Archduke Maximilian was almost private. The next was that of a British officer in command of Turkish troops and on active service; this also was almost private, and at a very early hour in the morning.

But now an immense crowd of British travellers were to visit the Sanctuary, with the full permission of the Pashà, who saw that the moment was come when free access might be safely granted. The people scattered over the immense area and the beautiful green grass at their own pleasure. Some descended into the subterranean passages described by Catherwood; all visited the Sacred Rock; most gathered flowers and sprays of olive and cypress, and other relics, and the Moslems stood gravely aside, or sat and talked with each other, and noted the decorous reverence with which these Christians passed from point to point, and began to understand that to us, too, it is indeed holy ground—the noble Sanctuary.

A very few of the English visitors had agreed beforehand to assemble in silent prayer around the Great Rock, and claim the promises in 2 Chron. vi. 32 and 33, in the spirit of Matthew xviii. 19, and they were able to do so undisturbed by anyone in the great concourse, or by any uncourteous act or gesture on the part of the Moslem guardians or frequenters of the Sanctuary. To these few the day seemed to mark an epoch in the history of Jerusalem. All came and went again in peace.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

UNEXPECTED TROUBLES.

Festivities in Nabloos on Birth of French Prince Imperial—The Agent puts up Flags—The English Bishop erects a bell over his School Chapel—Moslem fanaticism—Demonstration before Mosque Prayers on Friday—Accident by which the Rev. S. Lyde's gun goes off and kills a Moslem—Rising against the Christians, and Murder of the Prussian Agent's father—Flags and the Bell torn down—Vice-Consul sent to fetch Mr. Lyde—His Trial in Jerusalem—Justice not yet obtained against the Nabloos rioters.

We had scarcely reached home that same afternoon before messengers arrived with tidings of sad events having taken place the day before in Nabloos, which were also connected with the festivities in honour of the birth of the Prince Imperial of France.

After it was known in Jerusalem (through newspapers and travellers) that the Hatt-i-Humayoon of Toleration had been proclaimed in Constantinople, but before any official notice had reached the Pashà, the Anglican Bishop left the city for a visit to Nabloos. His Lordship took a bell with him in his luggage, which had been procured from England, to be put up there upon the Chapel School. Of this I had no notice or knowledge.

The Prussian, the French, and the English Consulates had each appointed an Agent[1] in Nabloos, whose duty it

[1] The Consular Agents employed on behalf of Great Britain throughout Palestine were unsalaried, even in so important a place as Acre, where M. M. d'A. Finzi, for forty years' service, some of it very arduous, has received no pay.

was to look after travellers and any resident belonging to their respective nations, to represent any grievances to the local authorities, and to report to the Consuls in Jerusalem all events as they occurred. In some cases they also aided travellers in finding lodgings and in various other ways. The Prussian and English Agents were native Protestant Christians. Our man was absent at the time, but a friend was acting as his substitute. The French Agent was not a Christian at all, but a native Moslem.

The English Bishop, arriving on Saturday night, caused the Governor of the town to be informed by a letter sealed with the seals of the Prussian and English Agents that it was his intention to put up a bell next day over his School Chapel.

The Governor had naturally inquired whether the Bishop was furnished with an order from the Pashà for the putting up of the bell in such a town as that. But on being informed that the Bishop placed dependence upon the Sultan's new Hatt-i-Humayoon (this document had not, however, been officially communicated to the authorities in Palestine, much less to the native public; it was as yet only known to exist through the European newspapers and general rumour), the Governor said no more, but allowed his kawwâsses to be present, when the bell was rung for the first time.

The French Agent (a Moslem), also out of friendliness, sent his own kawwâsses to be present. The bell was rung for Divine service, both in the morning and in the afternoon, and all remained quiet for that day.

Two days later a notification was despatched from

the French Consul in Jerusalem to his Agent in Nabloos, announcing the birth of the Prince Imperial. Enclosed in that letter was one from the Pashà to the Governor of Nabloos, directing him to pay an official visit of congratulation to the French Agent on that happy event. This letter arrived by night. After delivering the letter, the French Agent borrowed from the schoolmaster those little calico flags of France and Turkey, belonging to Mr. Bowen, which he had in the Protestant schoolroom (and which I had seen in the windows by way of decoration during the rejoicings for the fall of Sebastopol). Next morning at sunrise those flags were hoisted over the French Agent's house, on separate poles; small affairs though they were, not much exceeding the size of a pocket-handkerchief.

Our Bishop being still in the town went, attended by the Prussian Agent and our representative, to pay the visit of congratulation to the French Agent; but on observing the flags flying, our men asked and got leave of the Bishop to put up the little British calico flag also.

The Prussian Agent had no flag at hand to put up.

Mahhmood Bek, the Governor (of the Abdu'l Hâdy clan, who owed his recent restitution in office to the French), took no notice of these tiny exhibitions, but even allowed his Tufenkchis (for pay) to fire salutes of musketry in the street, to acknowledge the event so important to the great ally of the Sultan, as the birth of his heir.

Nevertheless, it soon appeared that among the fanatic Nabloosians, a hostile feeling was seething, and waiting only for an opportunity of overt explosion.

This was April 2nd, and the flags were kept up the

next day also, and the next (a great mistake among many other mistakes).

Early on April 4th the Bishop continued his journey, going to Nazareth, accompanied by the missionary, the Reverend John Zeller; and, as customary, a good number of his congregation escorted them part of the way, and among these were the Prussian and the English Agents—happily for them.

It was Friday, and the Mueddin, in calling to noon-day prayers from the minaret, was compelled by a crowd to descend from his gallery; they then locked up the mosque, and the lowest of the populace ran through the streets howling inflammatory cries, such as, 'Islâm is dead! Rise, O ye believers! Arise, all ye Moslems!'

Now it so happened that on the town gate being opened after the usual time of prayers, a traveller—the Reverend S. Lyde (mentioned before as having devoted himself to missionary work among the heathen Ansairiyeh)—was passing through Nabloos, and was about to pursue his journey northwards. While mounting his horse outside the gate, he was, according to custom, beset by beggars; one in particular, a dumb man, noted for his habitual impudence, laid hold of the traveller's coat, who therefore determined to give him nothing; and while in the act of mounting, and drawing away his coat from the man's grasp, Mr. Lyde's gun was discharged. The man was killed; at least he died shortly afterwards from the effects.

The cup of fanaticism was full, and the one drop more caused it to run over.

This accident became the signal for a popular insur-

rection. The mob rose. Mr. Lyde was with difficulty defended from the fury of the rabble by the gate-keeper and two or three Tufenkchis, until a force came down from the Governor, and barely succeeded in conveying him into the Seraglio, where the gates were closed. Shrieks and cries arose from the infuriated crowd—'Vengeance on the Christians for the blood of Islâm!'—'Down with the flags!'—'Down with the bell!'

The bell and the flags, including the Turkish, were soon on the ground—the tricolor of France, subjected to special indignity, having an old shoe tied to it before being dragged through the miry street, by way of expressing the popular hatred.

The French Agent's house, and the Protestant mission house and school, as well as the dwellings of Protestant natives, were sacked. The grey-headed father of the Prussian Agent, Kawwâr (the old man was not a Protestant), running for refuge to the house of his friend the English Agent (who was happily absent from Nabloos), was murdered within its threshold.

Not only were the houses of the Agents and of the Protestant Christian natives sacked, but the others, the Greek-rite Christians, were likewise plundered in their houses and in their church, and the dwelling of the deacon in charge of it.

The movement was from first to last anti-Christian, for which the incidents above described were but the pretext.

The ringleaders were one Shaikh Salâhh and his sons. Neither Jew nor Samaritan was either insulted or injured.

The Governor, Mahhmood Bek Abdu'l Hâdy, restored order as soon as possible, and secured Mr. Lyde from danger in his own house. The mob besieged it; and Mr. Lyde, fearing the worst, hastily wrote his will, and begged to be allowed to go out and appease the enraged people with his life; but the Governor stood his ground, and protected Mr. Lyde. The tidings were sent to Jerusalem, and were also brought by the Prussian and English Agents, who dared not venture their lives in Nabloos, but still trusted (and in this they were not mistaken) to Moslem principles of honour for the safety of their female relations.

I at once repaired to the French Consulate. Intelligence had not yet reached there. But at night, in a consultation with the Pashà and the French Consul, when I spoke of my intention to despatch Vice-Consul Rogers to protect and if possible bring away Mr. Lyde, they deprecated the idea.

However, reflecting upon the gravity of Mr. Lyde's situation, for he was still in some danger, and in a most painful predicament—there alone in the Governor's house, without any sympathising friend at hand—I decided to trust to the friendliness of the Governor, Mahhmood Bek Abdu'l Hâdy, whose own interests would prompt him to co-operate in securing the safety still further of our English clergyman. And, therefore, next morning, before the sun was up, our Vice-Consul was on the road thither, having only his kawwâsses and groom as escort. His courage and firmness were successful. By the 10th, the trampling of many horses' hoofs at our Consulate door announced his safe return to Jerusalem,

having brought Mr. Lyde away with an escort of irregular horse.

The poor man was in great grief at the result of the accident, and needed all the cheering and kindness which friends could bestow. He was then left at large within the city, on my giving bail, as Consul, to the Turkish authorities for his due appearance to answer the charge of murder, put forward by the relatives of the man who had been accidentally shot by his gun.

Within a few days, less than a week, when the rioters had time to begin to reflect upon what they had done, and what would be the consequences, they became so frightened that they not only remained perfectly quiet, but came by night and threw back into the houses some of the stolen things.

They might well be afraid. The Turkish Government was now strong. The Russian war was over, and not one European Consul only, but three, were concerned in obtaining redress :—

The Prussian Consul, for plunder taken out of his Agent's house, sued for things belonging to the Rev. Mr. Zeller, with the far graver matter of punishment for those rioters who had killed his Agent's father;—

The French Consul, for insults to his Agent and to his flag at the very moment when the Pashà had ordered the Governor to make congratulations on the birth of an heir to the French Emperor, his master's ally ;—

The British Consul, for property damaged and stolen, belonging to the English Bishop, and for violation of our Agent's house, where the poor man was killed who had taken refuge. To Arabs this last was a most heinous

offence, and required that we should exact justice for him as having claimed sanctuary according to their laws of hospitality.

There had lately been once more a change of Governors in Nabloos: the Tokân family had given place to their ancient rivals, the Abdu'l Hâdy, who were again in power, the present Governor being the chief man of their family.

Strange as it may seem, the Abdu'l Hâdy looked upon themselves as in some way French partisans. Their reasoning was of this kind:—Our clan supported the Egyptian cause during the occupation of Syria by Ibrahim Pashà. The French supported Ibrahim Pashà and his father, Mehemet Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt; therefore, as we belong to the Egyptian, we belong to the French party. Not only Abdu'l Hâdy, but all the natives of the country took this view of the matter, and the French in some sort admitted the Abdu'l Hâdy claim to a kind of friendly patronage.

Their rivals, the Tokân, on the contrary, having been throughout loyal to the Turks, who reinstated them in power on the restoration of Syria to their rule, were looked upon as Turks, and therefore by some at least as entitled to English countenance. The Tokân had been put into office, as formerly related, some time before, as being likely to be staunch to Turkey during this time of war.

Although I steadily discouraged all idea of partisanship, and was on terms of equal civility with both clans, treating on business matters with whichever happened to be in office, natives of the country would take it for

granted that we English must have a special regard for the Tokâns as Turks. It was much in the same way that one of the wild Arabs beyond Jordan exclaimed, on hearing that war had broken out between the Druzes and the Maronites, and that the Druzes had gained a victory, 'So the English have beaten the French! Destruction to both of them!' Maronites being Latin, are regarded as French; therefore their antagonists, the Druzes, are English.

Here we have an instance of the persistence of ideas and traditions in this country among the Eastern peoples.

The antagonism between French (and their Latin *protégés* and native partisans) and English (and their Turkish allies) dates in the minds of the inhabitants of these lands *at least* to the end of last century and the war with Napoleon Buonaparte. The occupation of Egypt, the battle of the Nile, the defence of Acre by Sidney Smith, are still fresh in their memory.

How then, it may be asked, would these Easterns account for the present alliance between France and England?

Easily enough. 'The Russians (Eastern Christians) make war on the Sultan; of course the French (Latins) are called on to help him, and do so. But the English are ancient allies of the Sultan, and he has also called on them to help him, and those queer English (it seems they have a religion though they are neither Greeks nor Latins), being allies of the Sultan, are therefore now friends with the French.'

But to return to Nabloos. The troubles there in connection with the change of the Governor had been going

on for some time. The displacement of the Tokân and the return to power of their rivals, the Abdu'l Hâdy, had completely unsettled the district. There had been what amounted to revolt against the Abdu'l Hâdy, various members of whose family were at present in office—Mahhmood Bek Abdu'l Hâdy as Governor of Nabloos, his cousin Salehh was Governor at Caifa, and his brother Mohammed was at Arrâbeh, the head-quarters of the clan.

The Pashà of Jerusalem had felt it needful to go to Nabloos himself with a body of troops to put down the disturbances. In order to ascertain the real state of affairs I had requested Vice-Consul Rogers of Caifa to visit the chief places in the district, and specially Nabloos itself. He reported that there had been much fighting with considerable loss of life at Arrâbeh. At Sanoor Mr. Rogers had been able to prevent a fight between a small detachment of the Turkish forces and the peasantry. His sister, Miss Rogers, travelled with him. In her interesting 'Domestic Life in Palestine' she describes the incident, and the effect produced by her brother and herself riding down alone to parley with the troops, who were marching into dangers which it was needless they should encounter. The matter was amicably settled for that time.

But the enemies of Abdu'l Hâdy were powerful, and kept the district in great disorder. Even at this time the ill-disposed were talking, and that not secretly but openly, of attacking the Christians, and a rising of the Moslems against them was proposed.

The meaning of all this was that the fanatical party of Tokân had been stirred up as a means of embarrassing

the Governor, who, with his family, had always been of the Liberal party, both during the Egyptian *régime* and since. The putting up of the English bell and of the flags had served as pretexts for the faction hostile to Abdu'l Hâdy to create a disturbance, and the accident caused by Mr. Lyde's gun had most unfortunately served to set fire to the inflammable materials already collected and waiting for an outbreak.

By the 12th of April tidings came that the hostilities had recommenced on the western plains of the Nabloos territory between the factions of Tokân and Jerâr, wild Arabs taking part. This event, added to the town riot, put the Pashà again in alarm, and about midnight he invited a consultation of the 'allied Consuls' about the affairs of that troublesome district. It was a curious scene. As the Christian Secretaries had long before gone home for the night, the two Moslem Secretaries were summoned to write a communication, in the sense agreed upon, to the Nabloos authorities. The men came, both stupidly drunk; so that there was difficulty in getting them to comprehend the task required of them. The letter permitted the Governor, Mahhmood Bek, to call out the Jeroodeh, or *levée en masse*, for the suppression of disorders. An African Takroori foot messenger conveyed the letter through the night.

Mr. Rogers soon returned, and brought us better news—of the rural war being at an end, and that the wild Arabs had gone away,

Harvest time was approaching, and this would serve to occupy the belligerents in more peaceful affairs.

Another night-consultation was held by the Pashà

with the French and English Consuls, and His Excellency now despatched a messenger with written orders to the Governor, Abdu'l Hâdy, to seize and send to Jerusalem all the ringleaders in the riot and murder. These orders were also sent, as before, by a messenger going through the night.

Next morning, April 14, the conclusion of peace in the Crimea was announced by the Castle guns.

It was deemed advisable to defer the trial of Mr. Lyde until after the Nabloos affairs should have worked themselves out somewhat into order; but on the 21st it came on.

Poor Mr. Lyde had meanwhile suffered much in mind under the conscientious belief—grown upon him since the sad occurrence—that a clergyman, even while travelling in so little civilised a country, ought not to be in possession of a loaded gun. His feelings on this matter, coupled with his previous well-known life of courage and self-denial as a Christian missionary among the Ansairiyeh heathen, elicited a deep feeling of respect for him from all quarters (except, of course, the turbulent fanatics of Nabloos).

According to the international capitulations the Turkish courts retain their proper supremacy in criminal causes; but the Consul of the defendant has the right of being present in court, and of cross-examining witnesses; also of suspending proceedings when these are irregularly conducted; and finally of protesting against the sentence and appealing to a higher court when there is reason for doing so. In this case there was little difficulty to encounter. The defendant acknowledged the facts of the

charge, only pleading that the man had by his conduct made it necessary to shake him off, and thus had caused the discharge of the gun, by which he was wounded. After the hearing of witnesses the case was adjourned till the 29th, several busy affairs intervening meanwhile.

When proceedings were resumed the Kâdi (judge) pronounced sentence—that inasmuch as the relatives of the deceased man had not asked blood for blood, the fine to be paid according to law amounted to 10,000 drachmas weight of silver; but the Kâdi refused to assess its value in money. Thus was pronounced the full penalty for *deliberate homicide.* To this I, for my part, would not consent, but appealed to Constantinople.

The after-proceedings were by desire of Mr. Lyde, and with the consent of the authorities, remitted to Bayroot, to the care of the Consul-General. This was done because Mr. Lyde was desirous of returning northwards to his duties.

Security was of course given for the sentence being obeyed when finally settled. The value in money of the amercement of 10,000 drachmas of silver would have to be fixed by the court of appeal. The Mohammedan law does not define whether the silver thus weighed should be of purest quality, or silver alloyed for practical use, nor whether it should be of plain surface or chased or embossed, which would considerably enhance its price. A sliding scale of wide limits is thus provided, which an honest judge may apply to varied circumstances, or a judge of the almost universal character may apply according to the amount of bribery to be got.

The fees of office are rated at so much per cent. upon

the sum decreed, and the *gainer* of a cause has to pay these. In this case, the gainers of the cause being the relatives of the dumb mendicant, who were poor people, the fees were deducted from the fine itself. I afterwards learned that the plaintiffs obtained but a mere trifle, and that only after long delay and frequent petitioning. This matter was now, however, out of my hands; but on a later visit to Jerusalem, in February 1857, Mr. Lyde complained that among his anxieties was still that of the amount of the fine being unsettled.

There now remained the case to be dealt with of the riot in Nabloos—the attack upon the Christians, the plunder and the murder of the Prussian agent's father in the house of our English agent.

Our Pashà, not of the strongest minded, was at his wits' end, and, stimulated by his French friends, did his utmost to smooth over difficulties.

The Governor, Mahhmood Bek Abdu'l Hâdy, of Nabloos, was as always on amiable terms with the French—(and English as far as possible. His authority had always been greatest in the city of Nabloos, while his rival, Tokân, prevailed most in the rural districts).

The French Consulate soon began to treat the affair of the insurrection as merely a disturbance, such as will happen occasionally anywhere, and sent to have the French flag raised again in Nabloos—under superintendence of the Governor—with firing of muskets. It was then lowered, and a speech made to the effect that it was not to be hoisted again till a proper reparation of honour could be obtained, seeing that Nabloos had shown itself to be unworthy of being honoured by the

banner of France! I can imagine the expression of countenance prevailing among the street populace on hearing this condemnation of themselves.

This was done without my knowledge, and a report was sent to Jerusalem. The Governor sent word to my agent, that by permission of the Pashà in Jerusalem, he might raise the English flag. He .properly declined to do so without directions from the Consulate.

I never gave those directions. It had not been the intention of any Consul in Jerusalem to put up flags in Nabloos. The exceptional circumstance of the birth of the Prince Imperial was the occasion of the toy-demonstrations being hoisted, to which the town Moslems had attached more importance than anybody else.

The putting up of the bell over the School Chapel, without notice or permission (which might probably have been procured from the Pashà, if properly applied for), was unfortunate. I had no idea, when riding out part of the way with the English bishop to escort him on his road to Nabloos, that he had such an instrument of peril to the public peace for such a town as Nabloos, among his luggage on the mules.

But now the important point was not the hoisting of our flag, at least until substantial redress should be granted for violence, robbery, and murder. We had done our part in bringing Mr. Lyde to trial, and it was of essential importance to press the Turkish authorities to do theirs promptly and fully in giving us redress.

To this I devoted my utmost endeavours; and, failing of success, I placed the case in the hands of my superiors in Bayroot and Constantinople.

The history of the further proceedings in this case does not fall within the limits of this present chronicle. But to this day neither the seditious rioters nor the actual perpetrators of the violence of the 4th April, 1856, have met with any chastisement.

And as this was the *first* case in which British officials failed to obtain redress for such serious wrong done within the Consulate of Jerusalem, it deserves to be marked *as the starting-point for a totally unprecedented order of events.*

There were many failures afterwards; but this is not the place for entering upon the recital. It was not till some time after the period of which we are treating that matters gradually unfolded themselves, and it became apparent that a new order of affairs had begun.

It is, however, impossible to forbear remarking upon the altered condition of affairs in Nabloos now—directly after the peace—and the state of quiet order, and even friendly toleration from the Moslems towards Christians, which we had found there the previous autumn, when visiting Mr. Bowen on our way south, after the fall of Sebastopol had been celebrated throughout the country.

The fanaticism of the people had been stirred up afresh; but by whom, and why? The putting up of the bell by our bishop had not at first caused disturbance; the putting up of the French flag had been ill received; but the Governor, Abdu'l Hâdy, had sanctioned it; and he, a friend of the French, was strong in the town, where most of his party are to be found. True, the old party, chiefly adherents of his rival Tokân, would be the more likely to resent any liberalising proceedings adopted by him, and to aid in raising a tumult.

Mr. Bowen was now no longer in Nabloos, and I had no Englishman there; no one who could move freely enough about among all parties to gather timely information, and help to avert mischief when brewing. Nothing happens without a cause; and it is even now, after so many years, desirable to make sure of the cause that lay at the bottom of this Nabloos outbreak.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

We had many opportunities of observing the tactics of those who viewed with disfavour the progress of general reform in the country.

Fanaticism had begun to die out, corruption to be repressed, and the real emancipation of all classes was going on apace. Twenty years more, and the Christians of *all churches* would have been free; but so would also the Jews and Moslems have been free, and Turkey a powerful empire.

The Crimean war had not stopped this movement; but the peace gave opportunity for enemies to revert to methods formerly practised. To revive the dying fanaticism—to give corruption and lawlessness full course—to discourage friendly interference for the general weal—these weapons were resorted to the moment that the war ended.

Had England persevered in her former policy of benevolent vigilance, these sinister tactics must have been defeated, and the present war rendered impossible.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE SULTAN'S EDICT OF TOLERATION PROCLAIMED.

The Hatt-i-Humayoon, or Edict of Toleration, proclaimed—Heads of Churches and Foreign Consuls invited to be present—Some arrived in full uniform—The Edict unpopular among Moslems of the old School—Summary of the most important provisions contained in the Edict—Crowning act of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's career—Religious equality in Turkey—The Turks not to be blamed for some delay in enforcing the new laws—The task was a difficult one—Less so in Jerusalem—Turkey a 'political necessity'—She must give full equality to her subjects—There was more religious toleration in Turkey than in several Christian lands in Europe—The Turks being neutral among them, oblige the Rival Christian Churches to suffer each other's existence.

WHILE these things were going on in Nabloos, the formal reading of the Sultan's gracious Hatt-i-Humayoon had taken place in Jerusalem. Probably this would have had no effect in preventing the insurrection had it arrived in time to be proclaimed in Nabloos before the riot, which occurred just two days before the Pashà received the document from the Porte.

Indeed there were indications that the uproar had been stirred up by people furious at the idea of this edict being granted by the Sultan—as popular report had already informed them. All the leading inhabitants of the country, Moslems as well as Christians, had by this time a general knowledge of its intent.

The Pashà announced, on the day after the admission of the great party of travellers and Europeans to the

Temple Sanctuary, that on the morrow—April 7—the formal reading of the Sultan's decree would take place at the Seraglio.

That document was justly regarded at the time, and, indeed it ought to be so still, as one of extreme importance—especially by the Rayahs or non-Moslem subjects of the Sultan.

His Excellency invited the heads of the various religious communities and the foreign Consuls to be present. The latter had not, however, made any concert among themselves as to the mode of hearing the proclamation.

I arrived first, in semi-uniform, assigning the reason to the Pashà that it seemed to me best not to make more show lest it should seem that we intended to exhibit a triumph over the Moslem population—thus causing irritation instead of soothing and allaying differences and excitement.

While saying so the French Dragoman came inquiring if the presence of the Consuls was to be in uniform, as a visit of official ceremony. '*Neh ichun?*' (What for?) asked the Pashà, and explained that in Constantinople on the reading of even that high class of documents the Ambassadors do not personally attend, but send their secretaries to hear them. However, he buckled on his official sword over a plain coat, and as he did so the Consuls arrived successively—blazing in uniforms, feathers, ribbons, and crosses. Only the Cancellière came from the French Consulate.

The various Patriarchs and Bishops were present, excepting the English Bishop (who was gone to Nabloos and the north), but the Rev. J. Nicolayson represented

the English Church and Jewish Mission, being also accompanied by the lay secretary of the mission, and by the physician, and by some English travellers.

It was evident that the Turks had not wished to make a conspicuous parade of the affair, but that some of the Christian authorities did.

And the latter were in the right in requiring that there should be full publicity with all necessary formality, after the trickery in 1853, about the Vizerial letter respecting the Holy Places. It was well to take all precautions against this publication of solemn *Hatt* becoming a mere hole-and-corner reading—and to make sure that it was read at all.

There can be no doubt of this charter of religious toleration and equality having been eminently distasteful to the old Mohammedan population, and distressing to their ancient feelings. It is usually believed, as we afterwards learned, that formal indignities were cast upon it by some Moslems in Constantinople, when it was read in the presence of the Shaikhu 'l Islâm, the Christian Patriarchs, and the Jewish Rabbi—indignities offered, intelligible only to those versed in state formalities and the Arabic language, by people making outside show of submission and reverence.[1]

We all issued forth to an open terrace, and there the

[1] The fact of the edict being unpopular among Moslems of the old school did not put any serious difficulty in the way of its being fully carried into effect.

The provisions had been skilfully planned, and, with judicious fostering care applied during a very few years, prejudices might easily have been overcome. They have been overcome to a surprising extent considering how little was done to encourage the working of the edict in the years that followed its promulgation.

Hatt was read with ceremony in the open air. After that a learned Shaikh of the Noble Sanctuary (Hharam) recited prayers, and acclamations followed from the Turkish authorities, the kawwâsses, and the few Moslems of the town there assembled. We then returned to his saloon to congratulate the Pashà, and after a few minutes withdrew.

A printed copy of the document, in both Turkish and Arabic, was delivered to each Consul, Patriarch, &c.

This remarkable decree confirmed all the guarantees previously given by the Hatt of Gul-Hane and by the Tanzimât to all subjects of the Ottoman Empire, without distinction of classes or of religion, for the security of their persons and property, and the preservation of their honour. All privileges and spiritual immunities granted of old to all Christian communities, or other non-Mussulman persuasions, were confirmed. These privileges were very great and had always included self-government, according to their own customs, under their own patriarchs or spiritual chiefs, who after election by their own people received a patent from the Sultan.

The late Lord Strangford, who was then attached to our embassy in Constantinople, and whose intimate acquaintance with Turkish and other Eastern languages qualified him to judge, was commissioned by our Ambassador to ascertain that this Sultan's Firmân in the Turkish language really did correspond to the original French text, which had been submitted by the Ottoman Government to our Ambassador and his colleagues.

Perfect accuracy of expression was of course essential, especially in paragraphs such as the following :—

'Every distinction or designation tending to make any class whatever of the subjects of my Empire inferior to another class, on account of their religion, language, or race, shall be for ever effaced from the administrative protocol. The laws shall be put in force against the use of any injurious or offensive term,[1] either among private individuals, or on the part of the authorities.

'As all forms of religion are and shall be freely professed in my dominions, no subject of my Empire shall be hindered in the exercise of the religion that he professes, nor shall be in any way annoyed on this account.

'No one shall be compelled to change their religion.'

Further, all subjects of the Empire were made admissible for public offices as appointed by the Sultan; all were to be admissible to the civil and military schools. Christians were to be no longer brought before purely Moslem courts of justice. Mixed tribunals were to be established, before which the testimony of every one was to be received on oath taken according to the religious law of each sect. Everything that resembles torture was entirely abolished. Christians were to be equally taxed and equally liable for recruitment into the army; and the principle of purchasing exemption was admitted. And finally, it was stated that it should be lawful for foreigners to possess landed property, conforming themselves to the laws and police regulations, and bearing the same charges as the native inhabitants, and after arrangements had been come to with the foreign Powers.

These are the most important of the provisions contained in the Hatt-i-Humayoon, or Edict of Toleration.

[1] Such as Giaour, Kâfir, or Infidel.

In the promulgation of this decree was accomplished the crowning act of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's beneficent and self-denying career in Turkey. During many years of anxious labour he had steadily worked to this one point of removing all sources of suffering among the Sultan's subjects, all pretext for interference on the part of foreign nations, by turning to account the opportunities afforded by the amiable character of the Sultan, and his willingness to grant every privilege and blessing within his power, to all his subjects.

Thus in the very moment of victory and triumph over Russia were granted to the Sultan's Christian subjects, and guaranteed as part of the law of the Ottoman Empire, greater privileges and a fuller freedom than was even enjoyed by the subjects of several European Christian nations.

Henceforward, if the laws of Turkey were only enforced, there would be neither necessity nor pretext for any protection of Christians in the East.

A few words must be said on the subject of religious equality before the law in Turkey, as connected with the administration of government, *extra* the Korân code with its commentaries. These latter, which are deeply engraved in the hearts and customs of their adherents, are undoubtedly adverse *in principle* to such notions of equality, and cannot be made to fall into harmony with them. How can unbelievers be put on an equality with believers in theory or in practice?

Consequently the Hatti Shereef of Gulhaneh, in 1838, and the rules known as 'Tanzimât' or 'Canoon Nameh,' for carrying out that charter, were only accepted by the

bigoted part of the Moslem population as temporary regulations of the Turks, in their mistaken system dictated by the exacting Europeans. The same of course with the still greater document, the Hatt-i-Humayoon of 1856.

Under the conviction that this persuasion underlay the universal sentiment of the old-school people in the provinces, I must say that I was slow to join in the cry of breach of faith made against the Turks, for not carrying out to the full from the very beginning all the liberal provisions of those charters. They ran so strongly counter to the recorded principles of old that are held so sacred, and to the inveterate habits of many generations, appealing only to the light of human conscience as it was before that light became darkness, that it really did require patience, together with firmness, for putting the new charters and edicts into execution.

The reforms which they contemplated were capable of being carried out, and the Turks were far more likely than any others to be able to carry them out—provided only that the object was kept steadfastly in view, and that those nations who obtained the promulgation of the reforms continued to watch over their execution, and gave every assistance in overcoming the great difficulties, though by no means insuperable difficulties, that had to be surmounted during the gradual process of working out those reforms.

It was not to be expected that a Moslem Government should be more zealous in restricting the class privileges of their Moslem subjects in favour of the Christians, than the Christian Powers of Europe might be in claiming for their fellow-Christians in Turkey the

fulfilment of the treaties which they had obtained at a vast cost, both moral and material.

If the European Powers, for any reasons of their own, relaxed their interest in the progress of justice and freedom for Christians in Turkey, it was too much to expect that the Turks should be more eager than they. To them the task they had undertaken at our desire was both delicate and difficult.

It seemed to me that the process need not have been so slow in Jerusalem as in many another district, considering how much more familiar men were with the presence of Christians in the city; considering the positive wealth existing there among the Christian communities, out of which the ruling class of Moslems had long been accustomed to derive much gain; and considering the political influence always exerted in behalf of these Christians at the Porte—all of which causes had long since modified the bigotry of Mohammedanism in the Holy City and its neighbourhood.

At a distance from Jerusalem the Proclamation of Toleration had less effect, as at Gaza, Nabloos, and in Galilee; but there the Christians were few and dared not look their masters in the face; they had no Consuls to ask after their welfare or to note the tyranny of their Moslem fellow-subjects or rulers, who, however, were not Turks, but Arabs.

This appears to have also been the case in other regions of the empire, as testified by Parliamentary and other reports that have been published in Europe.

It appears that obstructions to the carrying out of the reforms were not so much created in Constantinople as by ill-disciplined governors in their several departments

at a distance, or that they arose from the ancient prejudices of the dominant class; and it must be added that something was also due to the acknowledged timidity, which appeared like apathy, of those intended to be benefited.

Greater difficulties than these had, however, been overcome by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and by those who had laboured under him in bringing about the present greatly improved condition of affairs; and, further, safe and steady progress were reasonably to be expected, provided that men, and more especially Englishmen, were not wanting who should be capable of continuing the work so happily begun.

How much advance has been made during the last few years the writer of these remarks is unable to state. He has reason to believe that it is not much in Palestine.

But it may be laid down as a general principle, that whereas, to the nations of Europe, Turkey externally stands at present as 'a political necessity,' the civil and religious equality of its populations ought to become, and slower or faster must become, 'a political necessity' to Turkey; and progress in the working out of this equality must be influenced by the contiguity and by the pressure of Europe upon that empire.

Turkey is at present 'a political necessity,' if for no other reason, in that through the neutrality of the Turks alone is obtained the possibility of the various conflicting Christian Churches in the Holy Land (or elsewhere in Turkey) existing side by side at all, or of their allowing to each other any liberty, civil or religious.

The observation was continually in my mind and

frequently uttered, that even in the time past to which this book relates, there was far more of religious toleration in that Mohammedan country than in the majority of Christian lands in Europe.

We had no Inquisition, no 'Index Expurgatorius' of books, no restriction on the circulation of books, no interference with our various forms of worship.

As far as the Government was concerned, any Christian or Jew might profess or even teach any form of doctrine that he believed. The Moslems would not interfere; and the Christian ecclesiastics might no longer meddle with those beyond their sphere, or inflict open penalties on seceders, or attempt to coerce people into submission. These things were no longer possible in cases where publicity could be brought to bear, for they were contrary to the laws of the land.

Mutual toleration by the Christians of each other was maintained and enforced by the Turkish Government to a degree scarcely known in European countries, where some one Church is dominant.

Do away with Turkish supremacy in the Holy Land, and what will then become of the religious toleration now enjoyed by the various Christian communities in Jerusalem and Palestine?

Will the Latins under France, or any other Roman Catholic Government, give their ancient rivals the Eastern Church, under Russia, liberty, as heretofore, in and around the Sanctuaries—or *vice versâ*?

And how about Protestant reforming communities, native or foreign? Would they be permitted to continue their progress?

A deadly conflict, not alone for ascendancy, but for existence and absolute supremacy, must follow any changes in the Turkish Empire which should remove the neutral force, weak though it be, which has hitherto been interposed between those ancient rivals, the Eastern and the Western Churches.

CHAPTER XXXV.

PROCLAMATION OF PEACE. KIAMIL PASHÀ.

Salute from the Castle battery announces the Peace—The Turkish troops paraded on the Maidân once more for prayers and thanksgivings—General Illumination—Kiamil Pashà—His character, and eventful career in Jerusalem.

On April 14th, the salutes from the Castle guns announced that the Pashà had been informed of the Proclamation of Peace between the allies and Turkey.

The Ottoman troops were assembled, the Pashà in their centre, on the Maidân (*place*) outside the Jaffa gate, on the same spot where the troops had mustered on September 19th, 1853, when summoned from Jerusalem to go and fight for their Sultan.

This time, also, there were prayers led by the Imâm, with other thanksgiving ceremonial.

Thus the first scene in this country connected with the Russian War, and the last, of the nature of military ceremonials, were enacted upon this open public place called the Maidân, on the high ground outside of the Jaffa gate, on the north-western side of Jerusalem.[1]

A public general illumination in celebration of the Peace was ordered for the night of the 24th.

[1] That public Maidân soon afterwards disappeared, never again to be available for a similar purpose or for any other use by the Turkish Government. Upon it now stands the Walled Enclosure, filled with Russian buildings, and commonly called by the Russian pilgrims 'The new Jerusalem.' (May not this Maidân have been the Hippodrome of which Josephus speaks?)

The city then had a repetition of the doings in last September for the fall of Sebastopol (which I had not witnessed, being absent in the north).

Nothing better could have been devised for grandeur of effect—private houses and consulates were lighted up and garlanded; people paraded the streets with music; there were bonfires and fireworks; the mosques and minarets were lighted up; the bazaar shops were open for their owners to receive visitors with pipes and coffee; the streets were crowded with a vast multitude, more motley than ever.

The mimic siege of the Castle from artillery in the square, and musketry from roofs of neighbouring houses, by the regular infantry, were responded to by flashes from the loopholes of the citadel. The thunder of cannon and the bursting of huge rockets in the air, gave to the whole a semblance of reality enhanced by the pitchy darkness of the night, and a gradual approach of mizzling rain—('the latter rain'). The victors, of course storming the Castle successfully, rushed into the fortifications with shouts of triumph and 'Live the Sultân 'Abdu 'l Mejeed!'[1] And here ends our Jerusalem share in the events connected with the Russian War of 1853–1856.

The results were yet to be seen.

Kiamil Pashà had now been more than a year in office, having entered upon his duties at Jerusalem on Feb. 15th, 1855. He was a young man, but from the first the general impression about him was that he was weak in character. He arrived in the midst of the war period

[1] Though the city was so crowded with Christian and Moslem pilgrims we heard of no case of injury or even of theft during these rejoicings.

when peculiar tact and firmness were required to keep together the large and important province entrusted to him—of which, as we have seen, the general population were in a disorganised condition, and where at this time the supreme Government had but scanty means of enforcing obedience.

But though weak, Kiamil Pashà was intelligent. He understood pretty well the political exigencies of the time, and being of mild and amiable temper, he was disposed to be at least courteous to those whom he had no other means of conciliating amongst the foreigners, or of ruling amongst the subjects of the Sultan.

Fortunately for his aid in conducting affairs he had his French Secretary, and the French Consulate had at that time their French Cancellière well trained in professional business, and well versed in Oriental languages. These propped him up on each side, and being of one mind, they were able to direct him in the way in which he should go—at least in respect of the alliance with France and the furtherance of Latin interests.

Circumstances being so far favourable to the maintenance of Ottoman sovereignty in Palestine, the Pashà was enabled to keep up his head amid a sea of troubles.

Kiamil Pashà was moreover decidedly liberal in religious matters, and took every opportunity of showing to the Moslem population that the Sultan's Government were in earnest in granting all possible liberty and toleration to Christians, whether native or foreign.

The English Consulate had, during his term of office, many opportunities of rendering friendly aid to the Turkish Government, by strengthening the Pashà's hands

when promoting the cause of law and of good order. And the Pashà was willing to avail himself in a friendly spirit of the assistance which could be thus properly rendered.

To say that he was always above the temptations of bribery would be to say that he was not a Turkish Pashà brought up as Turkish Pashàs then were brought up.

To say that he was exempt from the practice of craft and even falsehood in his government over the natives, would be to say that he was not a Turk of the school so common in those days, considering himself free to make up by ingenuity what was wanting in actual power.

But it was to Kiamil Pashà that the task of governing the City of Jerusalem, and the surrounding country, was allotted at this eventful period—and who did actually succeed in putting down incipient revolt and defeating the machinations of enemies to Turkey. And he it was who had to receive and entertain the royal princes of Belgium and of Austria. He it was who threw open the Noble Sanctuary of the Temple to Christians and to Jews, and this so skilfully that no life was lost, and that fanaticism was quieted. He it was who attended officially at Christian Te Deums and Church Services, honoured foreign sovereigns by salutes from the cannon of the fortress, aided in inaugurating the flags of Christian nations in Jerusalem, celebrated publicly the birth of the Prince Imperial of France, and the proclamation of the Peace, and who had the duty and the honour of proclaiming in the Holy City the Sultan's great edict of toleration—the Hatt-i-Humayoon.

No Turkish Pashà who had preceded him in Jerusa-

lem could have acquitted himself in these matters with as much credit as Kiamil Pashà, in spite of the failings and the faults from which he was not exempt.

In this sketch it is only the public career and character of Kiamil Pashà which have been touched upon, and these only as bearing upon the subject of the present history.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

FIGHTING IN THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE—PRAYERS FOR OUR QUEEN IN THE NEW JEWISH SYNAGOGUE ON ZION.

Oriental Easter arrived—Christian and Moslem pilgrims numerous—Jewish Passover—Fight between Armenians and Greeks in the church of the Holy Sepulchre about the Holy Fire—Pashà hurt—Turkish Colonel wounded and many of the troops—Destruction of sacred pictures and vessels—Precautions taken by the Turks in the church and in the streets for Easter day—Pilgrims ordered to leave Jerusalem on pain of imprisonment—The Holy Fire or Light—New Jewish Synagogue in Jerusalem—Religious service within its walls—Prayers for H. M. the Queen.

THE Greek and Oriental Easter was now coming on. Greek Palm Sunday occurred on April 20, and the city was filling rapidly with pilgrims, very numerous this year on account of the war being over, and there were plenty of Russian pilgrims as well as other multitudes of pilgrims, but, of course, all belonging to Eastern churches.

The Moslem Neby Moosa pilgrims also came in great crowds, and the Jewish Passover was going on. It was in the midst of this important week that the public rejoicings for the peace took place. The city was in a great state of excitement.

Scarcely were the illuminations extinguished when the next evening, preparatory to the ceremony of Holy Fire of Easter Eve, the ecclesiastics of the Greek Church assembled before the Holy Sepulchre and preached a

great sermon to the pilgrims concerning the recent events —the duties that arose in consequence, and in praise of the Sultan.

The Holy Fire service followed next day, but the lessons so fully inculcated were utterly disregarded. Instead of peace came war, but the quarrel this time lay between the Greeks and Armenians for first possession of the Holy Fire. (The Latins were out of the fray; their Easter had been over a month.)

Immediately on the appearance of the flame a disturbance broke out between the Greeks and Armenians, but both sides had evidently been prepared beforehand for a conflict. Pilgrims were provided with stones and cudgels, which had been previously concealed (it was believed by the Armenians) behind the columns and in dark corners, and our Vice-Consul, who had accompanied some English travellers into the gallery to witness the ceremony, saw a further supply of this sort of ammunition being thrown down into the body of the church from a window in the circular gallery which communicated with the Greek convent. A dreadful conflict ensued.

The Pashà left his seat in the nether gallery and ran down to direct his attendants, civil and military, in separating the combatants, and only succeeded in dividing them after he had himself received several severe blows on the head, and his secretary got a cut on the hand from a knife. The colonel in command of the troops and many of his soldiers got wounded and bruised. Some twenty-five Greeks and Armenians were severely wounded, and great numbers received heavy blows.

Vice-Consul Rogers returned in half an hour later,

and saw the Armenian procession making its tour around the Sacred Chapel, some of the priests and deacons carrying bludgeons and other weapons.

Later still I went with him to the scene of action. A large body of infantry with fixed bayonets then occupied the open square in front of the church. My two kawwâsses cleared a passage through the crowd, and the commandant came up to me, having his wounded nose strapped with a plaister. The pavement all around the Sepulchre Chapel, especially between it and the Greek church, was strewn with broken lamps, fragments of glass and pictures, oil swimming over the floor. Many valuable pictures had been torn; vases, lamps, candlesticks, and other church ornaments thrown down and destroyed.

In the gallery of the Syrians there were women dancing, clapping hands, and shrieking the *tehhleel* of joy. Some Greek deacons were employed in sweeping the pavement, and, after removing the glass fragments, washing it with soap and hot water; also, putting up new lamps in replacement of those that had been smashed. On the Calvary a Greek monk was dusting the lamps and the artificial flowers in preparation for the night service. He spoke but little Arabic, but expressed his indignation at the Armenians having any share in that holy place.

I passed into the Latin refectory, and found the monks there denouncing with fluent tongues and flashing eyes the barbarism of both the Oriental parties in the fray.

Several pictures were for ever spoilt, among them a large one of the Crucifixion; and one of the Resurrection over the small door of the Sepulchre Chapel had still a stick remaining in it as it had been thrown, for without a

ladder it could not be extricated. Mr. Rogers succeeded in wresting one of the cudgels from the hand of a pilgrim which had first fallen into the spilt oil: it was a huge stick of dark-coloured and very hard wood.

The Pashà took the precaution that at the night services the two parties should not be mingled, and that no Armenian should be allowed to enter the church till the Greek service was over. He was there at 11 P.M., waiting for the midnight service and keeping order with his troops.

We heard that during the conflict a lad had been stabbed in the face and neck by the Greeks. Most likely he had been individually a marked object ever since the illumination for the fall of Sebastopol, when he had, as was known, paraded an effigy (something like those of Guy Fawkes in London) of the Czar of Russia on an ass, and then committed it to the flames.

Next day (Oriental Easter Day), the first excitement being over, it became possible to count the number of the wounded. It appeared that about twenty were injured on each side (besides those who only had bruises), two dangerously wounded on the Greek, and one on the opposite side. Several silver lamps and silver chains were missing.

Infantry companies patrolled the streets all the day, and companies were posted with piled arms at corner stations. Notice was also cried about the city of the Pashà's order that all pilgrims were to leave Jerusalem on the morrow on pain of imprisonment.

Next day, when riding out some distance to escort the English Bishop on his departure for England, I saw

the pilgrims moving off towards Jaffa by thousands, some riding, some walking in companies.

The remarkable part of the conflict here described to have taken place in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, consists in the fact that it was between two of the Eastern Churches, the Greek and the Armenian—not between the Latin and the Greek, on account of ancient rivalry, but between the Greeks, adherents of the resident Church, so to speak, subjects of the Sultan, and the Armenians from various parts of the East, many of them Russian subjects, and others of them Turkish subjects.

After quelling the riot, the first care of our Pashà seems to have been (next to preventing a fresh outbreak) to get rid of these disturbers of the peace (powerful fellows, most of them) out of Jerusalem, with as little delay as possible, and this he succeeded in doing.

With respect to the supposed miraculous fire, commonly called the Holy Fire, it, as well as the orgies celebrated on the occasion by the pilgrims, may be paralleled in ancient heathendom.

Pliny mentions that in the town of Salentinum, wood was laid on a certain sacred rock, and then took fire. 'For,' says Livy, 'the ancients used not to light their altars, but to call down fire thereon by their prayers, and Numa frequently did so.'

It is to this at Salentinum that Horace refers in Serm. i. 5, 100; and strangely adds, 'Let the Jew Apella believe this—not I.' This may be in allusion to an indistinct version of Elijah's miracle.

In Jerusalem, Holy Fire, however, had a different origin. It is rather a miracle of *light* than of *fire*, and

was primitively a commemoration of the resurrection of the light of the world after temporary absence.

The following extract, found in a newspaper, is interesting in connection with this subject.

Mr. Harrod, writing of the castles and convents of Norfolk, quotes the following passage from Lambarde's 'Topographical Dictionary:'—

> I, myself, being a child, once was in Paule's Church at London, at a feast at Whitsontide, wheare the comyng down of the Holy Ghost was set forth by a white pigeon that was let to fly out of a hole that is yet to be seen in the midst of the roof of the great ile, and by a long censer, which descending out to the same place almost to the very ground, was swinged up and down at such a length that it reached at one swepe almost to the west gate of the church, and with the other to the queer stairs of the same, breathing out over the whole church and companie a most pleasant perfume of such swete thyngs as burned therein.

Prayers for Her Majesty the Queen in the New Synagogue.

To change the scene—for in Jerusalem there is always sufficient variety of religion, language, costume, incident, nationality, and character to be met with.

The large new Synagogue on Mount Zion for the Perushim sect of the Ashkenaz Jews, called the Chorbah, was beginning to rise from the ground. The firmân for restoring this synagogue from its ancient ruins had been obtained by means of good offices on the part of my Consulate, and the powerful advocacy of our Ambassador, Lord Stratford. The Synagogue is believed to have existed from the days of Rabbi Judah ha Nâsi, the com-

piler of the Talmud Mishnah. The Ashkenaz Jews were greatly rejoiced, for hitherto they had no synagogue of their own. Many of this community were British *protégés*, and they invited us to be present at a religious thanksgiving service of prayers within the walls, in token of gratitude to the British Government.

We were placed at a small table with a white cover, between the *'Al mem'r* (reading desk) and the Ark. The enclosure was fully crowded; but the women were all put into an adjoining house, from whence they could both see and hear the proceedings.

First came the prayer, 'O Thou Who givest Victory to Kings,' which is the usual prayer throughout the world for the monarch of the country; but in this instance, I believe, the names which occurred were those of our own Sovereign and of her Royal family. Then followed a prayer for the British Consul, his wife, 'the first-born son, and all their children;' followed by beautiful chants and anthems in Hebrew, not equal, in execution of the singing, to what may generally be heard in synagogues in Europe, but still far superior to that of the native Oriental Jews; and there was singing in parts, which was peculiar to themselves.

The walls were not yet built high enough for the domed roof to be thrown over them, but it was easy to see that the proportions would be excellent. It was pleasant that the Jewish Rabbis who were carrying on this building helped us to give employment to some of their destitute brethren, by purchasing some of the stone for this building from the Industrial Plantation, where the poor Jews assisted in quarrying and shaping the blocks.

Some of the men formerly employed there were now present, and had been at work upon this synagogue for themselves and their people. After the religious ceremonial, lemonade and cakes were brought in, while a clarionet and a drum in a corner played various pieces of Russian and of Austrian music, particularly the Austrian coronation anthem, for the clarionet player had formerly served in an Austrian regimental band.

Some more Hebrew anthems were then sung, including several Psalms, and the 'Adôn Olam.'

We were then taken to see some ancient arches which had been discovered beneath the level of the present street. And thus the Jews, as well as other communities, held a public religious service with rejoicings. It was, indeed, a new thing in Jerusalem for them to be able thus to lift up their heads, and erect a synagogue that should be visible all over the city and from the country round.

Never, surely, could the Jews in Palestine go back again to the condition of oppression in which we had first known them, and from which they had been delivered mainly through the protection extended to them through the British Consulate by direction of Lord Palmerston. Well might they offer prayers and thanksgivings for her most gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria!

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER BY THE EDITOR—BRIGHT HOPES NOT FULFILLED—PROSPECT OF TURKISH REGENERATION.

Congratulatory address to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe—His remarks on the policy of the British Government and the benevolence of the Sultan—The duty of true friends of Eastern Christians, especially of England—Prospects of success—The neglect of the English people—Turkish investments—Danger of neglect—Policy of non-intervention—Reaction Massacres in Syria, 1860—Active intervention—Need for vigilance—Relief to the wounded and suffering—More neglect—Increase of disorders—England's responsibility—Our duty now.

THOSE persons who had lived in Turkey during many years, and had watched the steady and persevering labours of our Ambassador, rejoiced that upon him had fallen 'the honour, providentially and deservedly conferred on him, of having become instrumental in accomplishing so great and so good a work for the millions of Turkey.' These words are quoted from an address presented to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, by men of various nations well qualified to judge of the reality and value of the blessings secured by the new decree. They acknowledge the aid rendered by the representatives of other countries, but 'cannot but realise that the accomplishment of this work is eminently due, under God, to the influence of the Representative of Great Britain.'

Their experience and intimate local knowledge led them to be grateful for the past and present, but also to

indulge in bright hopes for the future. The following extracts will show their estimate of the situation at the close of the Russian war—their joy at the deliverance of Turkey—their gratitude to the Sultan and his friends :—

The Imperial Hatti-Shereef, lately published, has convinced us that our fond expectations are likely to be realised. Turkey, snatched from the border of imminent destruction, will see a better day. The light will shine upon those who have long sat in darkness; and blest by social prosperity and religious freedom, the millions of Turkey will, we trust, be seen ere long sitting peacefully under their own vine and fig-tree. Your lordship will allow us to say that we consider the Hatti-Shereef entirely satisfactory, not only in its social enactments, but also relative to freedom of conscience. To give that bolder utterance to this great principle which some seem to have expected, would, in our opinion, have been imprudent, and would have retarded the cause of truth instead of advancing it. It would have imperilled the reorganisation and reformation of Turkey. As it is, the prospects of this country appear to us bright. The Imperial document will only need a consistent and discreet application when called for, and the world will soon perceive the importance of the Imperial act. We would gratefully acknowledge the kindness of the sovereign of this country, and the wise and liberal moderation of his government. We see no reason to entertain any doubt of their sincerity and loyalty in the promulgation of the Imperial edict, or of their intention to give it effect throughout the land. But we cannot help doing justice to the friendly agencies from more enlightened countries which have led them to take so elevated and enlightened a stand in the future government of this country, and among those agencies your lordship will permit us to consider you foremost as the representative of the most liberal Protestant country of Europe. It is highly gratifying to us to give utterance to this just sentiment.

We cannot, however, close this inadequate expression of our views and feelings on the subject without alluding to the neces-

sity of the continued experienced counsel and the friendly encouragement and assistance too, which the enlightened Western Powers, and especially England, will have to afford to the Government of Turkey, in introducing and supporting these principles, which are so far beyond the conceptions of an ignorant and fanatical population ; the temptation of yielding to circumstances, and of sacrificing the principles of justice and truth to popular prejudice, will be great and constant. The very novelty of the moral principles now to be introduced into the administration of the spiritual interests of society, as well as the depth and extent of their bearings, will, for some time to come, render experienced counsel and co-operation from abroad a welcome service, even to the most vigorous Government, in carrying out the intentions of the benevolent sovereign, and in meting out equal justice to the various religious denominations and to individuals, without respect of person or of traditionary fanaticism. . . .

Our devoted wish and prayer, in closing, is that it may please God to spare Your Lordship yet for many years to come to this country, whose wisest measures have been matured for thirty years past under your personal influence and advice.

(Extracted from the address presented to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe by Church of England clergymen and American missionaries in Constantinople. Dated Pera, Constantinople, March 4th, 1856.)

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, in forwarding to our Government a copy of this address, remarks, that 'it is but a just tribute to the policy of Her Majesty's Government and the benevolence of the reigning Sultan, in harmony with the views of the alliance.'

The estimate of the present situation, contained in the above address, was no less just than the anticipations of future blessings yet in store for Turkey and her people, were well founded.

But the writers did not leave out in their forecast the one only condition upon which rested the realisation of their hopes—'the necessity for continued experienced counsel and friendly encouragement, and assistance too, which the enlightened Western powers, and especially England, will have to afford to the Government of Turkey.'

Herein lay the foundation of the bright hopes so reasonably indulged at this moment, by men who had watched and who had taken their own unwearied part in the long labours which had at last brought liberty and gladness to so many millions.

Alas that it should be true, that at this culminating point began the reaction in England!

After the Crimean War was over, a period of selfish indifference set in; our responsibilities to our fellow Christians in Turkey were forgotten by the majority of the nation, in the thoughts of the glory which had been gained.

The Eastern Question was not laid for ever to rest, as it might have been by a patient disinterested carrying out of the work so nobly begun, and it remained to vex and harass us, and to disquiet the world, to lay desolate the fairest regions of the earth, and claim as victims tens of thousands of our fellow creatures.

At that time matters were in our own hands; all true friends of the Eastern Christians should then have set to work with redoubled energy on the task begun by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, in bringing to bear upon the condition of the whole Turkish Empire the general reforms granted by the Sultan.

The British nation could have done this with the best prospect of success, for it was the British nation who had hitherto been the practically useful friend to both Christians and Moslems, who had everywhere striven to lighten the yoke which weighed upon the former, and to shield and protect them against the resentment of the Moslems, when the war threatened to take the form of a Crusade against Islâm; who had stood between the Moslems and what we in England believed to be unjust aggression on the part of Russia, though made under the form of a holy war on behalf of Christians.

England had spent her best blood and millions of treasure, not as Turco-phile or Russo-phobe, but for the sake, as our nation believed, of even-handed justice to all.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe has expressed in forcible language his opinion as to our obligations in this respect.

> The treaty of peace which guards the Porte expressly against any foreign interference as between the Sultan and his subjects, would be anything but satisfactory if it were held to preclude the Sultan's allies from insisting on the enforcement of those reforms which have been adopted freely by him as of vital importance to his Empire. Who will deny that the continued neglect of that duty exposes them more and more to the perils and sacrifices attendant, under their existing engagements, on its dissolution, whether by force or intrigue?[1]
>
> In these high matters, to which the principal powers of Europe habitually and necessarily direct their attention, although the interest, the legitimate interest, is common, and the right equal, our own Government occupies a peculiar position, comparatively advantageous, but also, in proportion to the advantage, responsible. The causes of this are manifest. Of

[1] Lord Stratford de Redcliffe in 'The Nineteenth Century,' 1877.

all the powers, Great Britain has most to lose by the inertness and decay of the Ottoman Empire, and least to gain by its dismemberment. Though her course of policy may at times give umbrage to the Porte, the circumstances in which she is placed, and the character of our institutions, exempt her from its mistrust. Others may be more feared, and consequently more favoured, by the Turkish authorities; but confidence and good-will depend less on fear than on hopes and sympathies.

Now, at last, the time was come for Great Britain to claim the reward for all the sacrifices she had made, and that reward should have been given to her, in the shape of the fulfilment of the promises made by the Sultan, and we might have obtained it had we cared to do so.

Now was the time for us to have pursued, with ceaseless industry, that course which had already given our nation an influence attained by none other over Christian and Moslem alike—a position as trusted mediator between both; as helper of all, no matter what their creed might be.

That success was probable, if not certain, may be inferred from the success which had already crowned the efforts that had been made in this direction. The person who had most intimate knowledge as to the nature of the efforts put forth, and the amount of success attained, was hopeful of at least equal results in the future.

Lord Stratford has written that 'the capacity of Mussulman Turkey for reforms may not be equal to its need of them, but it has always appeared to me sufficient for the introduction of a real and progressive improvement. On this account it is the more to be regretted, and also the more to be resented, that nearly a score of years from the Treaty of Paris, so remarkable for

increase of revenue and freedom from disturbance, should have left such scanty traces of advancement and good faith, and such ample proofs of impolicy and extravagance.'[1]

But then, as this best-informed of all the judges who has dealt with the Eastern Question and with Turkish affairs had already pointed out, 'In Turkey as now circumstanced, and more perhaps than elsewhere, these qualities of national movement have to be sustained, if not inspired, from without. Happily for the Turkish Empire, sufficient means and motives for giving, in a friendly spirit, the requisite impulsion to its endeavours are no longer out of reach.'

That the task of working out the reforms granted by the Sultan, and of thus effecting the regeneration of the Turkish Empire, had its difficulties, and possibly its dangers, none conversant with the subject failed to admit.

But the mode of overcoming the difficulties and dangers was not far to seek. It had availed us in the past and would as certainly avail us in the future.

In this respect, as in others, the one who was best acquainted with all the conditions, spoke the most hopefully as to the probable result of all honest and firm endeavours for the general good of all the Sultan's subjects alike. The following are weighty words:

> Those to whom every molehill is a mountain, every redoubt an impregnable fortress, may fancy that the greatest success in these respects would have little or no effect—if any, a disastrous one—on that diversity of races and consequent opposition of feelings and interests which make the Turkish Empire a hotbed

[1] Lord Stratford de Redcliffe in 'The Nineteenth Century,' p. 748.

of internal dissension. That there, as elsewhere, difficulty and danger exist in circumstances of social antagonism, cannot be fairly denied; but candour, while making the admission, is entitled to dissent from its exaggeration.[1]

He adds,

Numerous, and at heart disaffected, as the Sultan's non-Mussulman subjects are, they have by no means the force either of union or of endurance. The separation into different races, on the ground of race and creed, is evidently a source of weakness to them. They have little sympathy for each other. They are rivals for Turkish favour, and in some respects antagonistic among themselves. What they have most in common is the habit of submission to Turkish rule. Neither Greek, nor Armenian, nor Slavonian, can hope to occupy a throne left vacant by the professor of Islamism. Each class in the supposed case would probably consent more cheerfully to the Sultan's authority than accept the rule of an adverse Christian sect. The Christians, in proportion as the Turks extend the circle of their privileges, and treat them with forbearance and consideration, have less to stimulate their longing for independence, and less to raise them above the dread of their long-established conquerors. On the same ground their hold upon the sympathies of Christendom, and the confidence they might derive from that source, are greatly attenuated. Besides, the weight of the Ottoman sceptre has never pressed upon them by an immediate contact with the whole surface of their everyday life. From the time of the conquest they have been allowed, in some important respects, to manage their own affairs. Even the collection of the *Haratsch*, before the abolition of that tax, was entrusted to their own magistrates. The amount to be levied on each district was fixed by the Porte, or, it might be, by the Pashà, but the assessment was regulated by the elders or notables of each religious community. What they most felt, and what in reality they had most to complain of, was the

[1] Lord Stratford de Redcliffe in 'The Nineteenth Century,' pp. 743 and 744.

arbitrary use of power, the unauthorised exaction, the oppressive or humiliating treatment of individuals. But all these motives to revolt have been gradually dispelled, and are more likely to die away for want of fuel than to gather fresh strength from an increase of liberty and the prospect of further improvement.

Happy would it have been for the world if the truths set forth by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe had been understood in England!

But, alas! it was far otherwise.

After the war was over, the idea of reaping for the good of others, what we did not need for ourselves, the harvest sown by our own strenuous exertions, at a cost of millions, and watered with the blood of our bravest and best—this idea seems never to have occurred to the vast majority of Englishmen.

Indeed it would have been difficult to find a dozen people in England who had ever thought about the opportunities now in our hands, for relieving the inhabitants of the Turkish Empire—Christians, Jews, and Moslems—from the oppressions which had kept them down.

Perhaps some few may have read the edict of Toleration—the Hatt-i-Humayoon.

How many of these few were there who had traced its history, and followed our Ambassador's exertions during the long years preceding, in which he worked his way, step by step, to the achievement of this great end; or had any faint idea that the work was only just begun?

The idea of continuing his work, of fostering the infant liberties thus brought forth, of labouring with patient zeal for another thirty years or so, strengthening the weak, reproving the neglectful, keeping hostile influences

at bay, till regenerated Turkey should be able, with the aid of her own emancipated children, to stand forth among the nations: this idea found no way, among even benevolently disposed persons, for the simple reason that no one seems to have thought of it.

Instead of this, a mania for Turkish investments yielding rich dividends seems to have blinded men's eyes, even to the truth, that if their investments were to be safe, common prudence alone would require that the fulfilment, if only to us, of the pledges we had won from Turkey, must be strictly exacted.

However well it might suit other nations to allow Turkey to become a defaulter in the due fulfilment of these obligations to her own subjects, which they had helped to ratify, it was for us to exact their fulfilment to the very letter.

Thus, and thus only, could the money British investors were pouring into Turkey, be other than thrown away.

Thus, and thus only, could even that money have been made a powerful instrument in the regeneration of the Empire, in the salvation of the oppressed people, and in the peaceful settlement of the Eastern Question as understood by European politicians.

Upon British statesmen, more than upon those of any other nation, had devolved the duty of encouraging and even of urging the progress of the Ottoman Government in the path of reform. The warning which Lord Stratford gives has been borne out by facts, which are as yet only the beginning of the terrible consequences that must ensue if Christian nations continue to abuse their powers

and to neglect their opportunities for obtaining equal justice for all classes of the subjects of the Sultan.

'Who will deny that the continued neglect of that duty—(the duty of insisting on the enforcement of those reforms which have been adopted freely by the Sultan as of vital importance to his Empire)—exposes them more and more to the perils and sacrifices attendant, under their existing engagements, on its dissolution—(dissolution of the Ottoman Empire)—whether by force or intrigue?'

Another observer wrote in the *Times*, September 22nd, 1875:

'The worse the condition of Turkey becomes, the better will be the prospects of Russia. Nay, her diplomatists have been accused of cynically supporting the Old Turkish party and thus of strengthening all that is worst in the Mohammedan rule for the deliberate purpose of hastening the crisis of an incurable disease. At any rate they can well afford to let the opportunity of the present insurrection pass unused, for there will be another rising in a few years, and it may cover a much wider space.'

But England did not carry on the work so well begun. Instead of doing this she changed her line of action—she adopted 'a policy of non-intervention.'

The dismayed Christians soon found out that she was leaving them to their own resources, and that, having obtained the proclamation of reforms, the promises of liberty, she considered that she had done enough, and would henceforth attend only to her commercial interests, her home concerns; and that she would thus practically make to the Turkish Government an absolute present of all that she had spent and suffered in their defence,

regardless of all the Turkish obligations to us; regardless whether they performed the duties towards their subjects which had been undertaken at our instance, and the fulfilment of which were to be our sole recompense for all that we had lavished in defence of Turkey against unfair treatment by a Christian Power.

It matters not whence the insidious counsels had come that caused England to take this line of non-intervention, and to adopt this most selfish and ruinous policy (for it is ruinous to ourselves as well as to others [1]), whereby we turned our backs upon the Eastern Christians, at the very moment when they most needed our aid and counsel.

We thus led the indolent Turks, and the fanatical Moslems, of which there are still plenty existing, to believe, that after all we did not care about reforms; that in fact we had no real sympathy with our Eastern fellow-Christians; but that all we had done was from motives of the merest selfish political interest; and that so long as we thought our trade and our Indian possessions were not threatened, it mattered nothing to us if ancient fanaticism were revived, ancient oppressions restored; nay, that we intended to blind our eyes to the certainty that reaction must follow, when once it should become known that reform in Turkey, and liberty for

[1] Men are not slow to understand that when fire is smouldering in one house it must be extinguished lest it should break out and spread to their own houses—that when pestilence appears, it is not only those who are sick that are in danger, but all who may catch the disease from them; and yet men are so blind that they do not perceive the common danger when the fires of discontent are kept smouldering in an empire, ready at any moment to break out into open disturbance.

Christians, were not seriously desired by England; but that they had been the aim and object of only a few powerful individual Englishmen, such as Lord Palmerston, Lord Clarendon, and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe; and were no longer to be regarded as occupying the attention of the British nation.

It must not be supposed that so great a change could be brought about at once.

It took some years to persuade men that England could be in earnest about this new policy of non-intervention. But at last they began to believe it, and to try how far they might act upon their belief.

Things that would formerly have attracted instant attention were enacted in Turkey, and passed unnoticed, because they were unknown in England.

Small acts of wrong, isolated instances of violence passed unchecked, and the mischief grew apace. The evil-disposed were quite willing to proceed to worse; and what might have been stopped at first with a word became a formidable danger.

When at length the massacres in Syria broke out in 1860, people were so shocked and startled, that for a moment England, jointly with France, intervened, claimed and obtained from the Ottoman Government the fulfilment of some plain duties to its Christian, Druse, and Moslem subjects. A remedy was then applied which has to this hour given tranquillity to a whole province (Lebanon).

Far less than this, if only done in time, would have given tranquillity to all Turkey. But those massacres ought to have been prevented, as risings in the Lebanon

and elsewhere had been formerly prevented by timely attention to first infringements of the law.

After the Crimean war very few years of watchfulness and of prompt interference in small cases of wrong-doing would have taught Turkish Pashàs, as they had been taught before and during the war, that their best and cheapest policy was honesty and justice; that while to break the Sultan's laws ensured their being reported and dismissed into obscurity and penury, with the total loss of all that they might have spent in purchasing office, their obedience gave them steady promotion and increase of pay.

The Pashàs' pockets would have become, as heretofore, their best instructors, if only due vigilance had been exercised over them by impartial reporters.

Self-interest is the most powerful of all motives. A new race of Pashàs had begun to arise. Twenty years of watchfulness would have got rid of all those unable or unwilling to conform to the laws of their sovereign, and to carry them out.

But vigilance would have had its effect upon others than the Turkish Pashàs.

Intrigues which are set on foot to take advantage of local feuds and create or increase disturbances can be exposed or neutralized when there are vigilant officials on the alert to deal with the first symptoms of mischief.

Machinations which work upon the weak points and the bad passions of human nature, be it in Moslem, Druse, Maronite, or other Christian, can be rendered powerless if there be some watchful eye upon the scene—some one prompt to remind the would-be tyrant or op-

pressor that his actions are noted, and that the responsibility of their consequences will be fastened unfailingly upon himself, whether as author, abettor, or indolent encourager of lawlessness, and that a strict account will be exacted for any breach of the laws, and for every offence against justice and mercy.

Even 'Abderrahhmân el Amer, the brutal peasant tyrant of Hebron, felt checks such as these when he said that 'there was one thing that he feared, and that was the little book which the English Consul carried in his pocket,' in which everything was written, and from which, though not mentioned at the time, it was sure to be produced some day or other.[1]

Things like these attract no notice, make no stir at the time or afterwards. Bloodshed and rapine are silently prevented: that is all.

It is easy to put out the first small spark of fire. But when a blaze has been kindled, when the flames have been fanned, when the city is in conflagration, destruction overtakes the innocent with the guilty, and marauders from without pillage at their will under pretext of helping to put out the fire.

Blessed are they who have prevented evil by putting out the first spark, by whomsoever kindled.

[1] Mr. Finn was a proficient in shorthand writing and *did* carry a little book in his pocket in which everything worthy of note was written very quickly and in small space. 'Abderrahhmân of Hebron had had several years' experience of his ways when he said this, and had been shrewd enough to observe the quiet use of the little book in many a stormy scene, and he had had some cause to remark the effects that followed, to his own detriment, though sometimes only after long delay. Others besides 'Abderrahhmân of Hebron had been checked in their course of evil by the fear of what might be written down of their doings.

Blessed are also those who, at the expense of ease and personal comfort, visit the scenes of misery during or after the conflagration, for the purpose of rescuing helpless sufferers, of soothing their pain, staunching their wounds, reviving those for whom life is still possible, and alleviating the pains of death for those to whom death has come in fearful form, whether through their own sin or the sin of others.

British money was freely given after the Syrian massacres. British men and women laboured in dispensing relief to widows and orphans.

But woe to those whose neglect of duty made the massacres possible!

After the massacres of 1860 were over, the lessons which they should have taught were soon forgotten. Turkish Pashàs and Governors found out that under the very eyes of British officials they might violate every law of their empire with impunity, provided only that none but native subjects of the Sultan were the sufferers.

It was not very long before British subjects, too, began to feel that the days of perfect safety were gone by; that redress for infractions of the law could no longer be expected with certainty; that crime was allowed to go unpunished; that the new British policy of non-intervention had changed the conditions of life in the Turkish Empire, even for English-born British subjects.

And if by any chance some British official was unable, through long habit, to refrain from trying to seek redress, whether for his own countrymen or for some unfortunate subject of the Sultan, there were not wanting people to whisper to the Turkish officer or Pashà that 'times were

changed,' that now Turkey was admitted to the comity of nations, that the dictation of Englishmen should no longer be submitted to, that officials must be kept in their places, taught to mind their own business. And this though wrong and robbery, violence and oppression should be once more allowed to regain sway over the land.

Is it wonderful that venal Pashàs fell into the snare; that they were only too glad to be told they need no longer listen to wholesome counsels distasteful to their Ottoman pride, and which put restraint upon their worst faults? that the progress of reform in Turkey was arrested?

Is it to be wondered at that the despairing Christians began to think that after all England might be, as they were told, too intent upon money-making and political ends to heed the cry of the oppressed, in any matter which was not likely to further her own selfish purposes, and that some of them began to listen to dangerous counsellors, and to think that insurrection might be right and war holy?

How many poor deluded Christians who have died violent deaths might now be alive if some one better instructed had been at hand to remind them of the solemn words, 'They who take the sword shall perish by the sword'?

The reaction which followed after the Crimean War is a painful subject.

The waste of English influence frittered away; the neglect of opportunities for doing good; the long apathy;

the rude awakening of the last two years from a fool's paradise; these are topics that suggest grave thoughts.

England incurred a weighty responsibility when she helped to decide the Crimean War against Russian political aggrandisement at the expense of Turkey.

She had been able to throw her sword into the scale, not as champion of the Western Church against the Eastern, not as helper of the Latin interest as against that of the Greek Church, in striving for possession of the Holy Places at Jerusalem, far less as defender of Turkish misrule. She did so; she could honestly and effectually do so only as having hitherto stood between oppressed Christians and Moslem tyranny; as having been able to distinguish between political aggressions and the cause of civil and religious liberty, to hold back and repress the fanatical intolerance of the Moslem, and foster the growth of freedom among all the subjects of the Sultan, whether Jews, Moslems, or Christians.

Had England continued in the course she pursued with regard to Turkey from 1840 to 1856, we should have had no bloody insurrections, no crusades for relief of Christians under Moslem rule, since the conclusion of peace in 1856.

Christian England had a magnificent opportunity, and she failed to use it.

If it be true that our neglect and indifference to plain duties and responsibilities have contributed to the increase of human misery, it is clearly necessary that we should do what we can now do in alleviation of sufferings brought upon our fellow-creatures of whatever creed.

It has been *too late*; alas! what a world of sorrow lies

in those two words, 'too late!' for us to prevent, as we might have done, the flood of war and tumult from desolating the fair regions within the Turkish Empire; too late for us to hope to soften and remove religious and national antipathies, to foster peaceful progress. Too late!

Let it then be ours to alleviate if we cannot heal; to bind up the wounds, even those sore wounds which we might have prevented from being inflicted had we but awoke in time to a sense of what really were the vast opportunities for doing good to our fellow-creatures, that were placed within our reach by the sacrifices and efforts of the British nation, during the Russian War of 1853–1856.

Not by idle regrets, not by noisy declamation, only by self-denying labour, by real practical work can we hope to retrieve the past.

If we are really in earnest, means will be found to obtain from the Ottoman Government some true fulfilment of the reforms and promises which were granted at our request, in lieu of all other acknowledgments of our assistance; but we may rest assured that Turks are but like other human beings, if they delay payment of debts and fulfilment of obligations, until the payment and the fulfilment are claimed, and claimed seriously and in earnest, by those to whom payment and fulfilment are truly due. Payment and fulfilment are due, have long been due to us, that is, to the British nation.

Let us prefer our just claims, for toleration, liberty, security, for all subjects of the Sultan, guaranteed to them through that edict of toleration, that Hatt-i-Humayoon, the bestowal of which was the direct result of our Ambassador's life-long labours for the world's peace, by

means of the well-being and independence of the Turkish Empire.

In order to attain success, we must return to the line of conduct which then was successful. Ceaseless vigilance and perseverance then achieved great results. Vigilance and perseverance will be needed now to retrieve the past.

It then seemed to us, that it was the plain duty of every British official to watch carefully and jealously over every incident as it arose, whereby the general welfare could be promoted; to let nó trifle pass unnoticed which tended to undo any portion of what had been already achieved, for obtaining the blessings of security and toleration to all classes within the Turkish Empire.

If the questions of the Holy Places in Jerusalem and the protection of Christians in the East had led even indirectly to the great Russian War of 1853–1856, we were bound to remember that matters, seemingly trivial in their beginning, might still exercise powerful influence upon the ultimate issues.

Surely it is so still; it must be so in the future. As history repeats itself, as a given set of causes will generally produce similar effects when again set in motion, it is well to scan closely all the facts, and even the minuter incidents of the past.

It is possible that these records from Jerusalem Consular Chronicles may yet be of use in throwing light upon the springs of past actions, and upon the course of events still future.

For the Eastern Question was not settled by the Crimean War.

The Holy Places of Jerusalem are still objects of desire to the Eastern as to the Western Church. The religion of Islâm still prevails in the Holy Land. Devout Moslems still expect the final conflict and triumph over unbelievers; and Palestine is still to the people of Israel the Land of Promise.

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